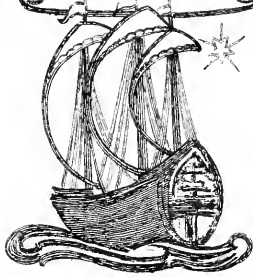


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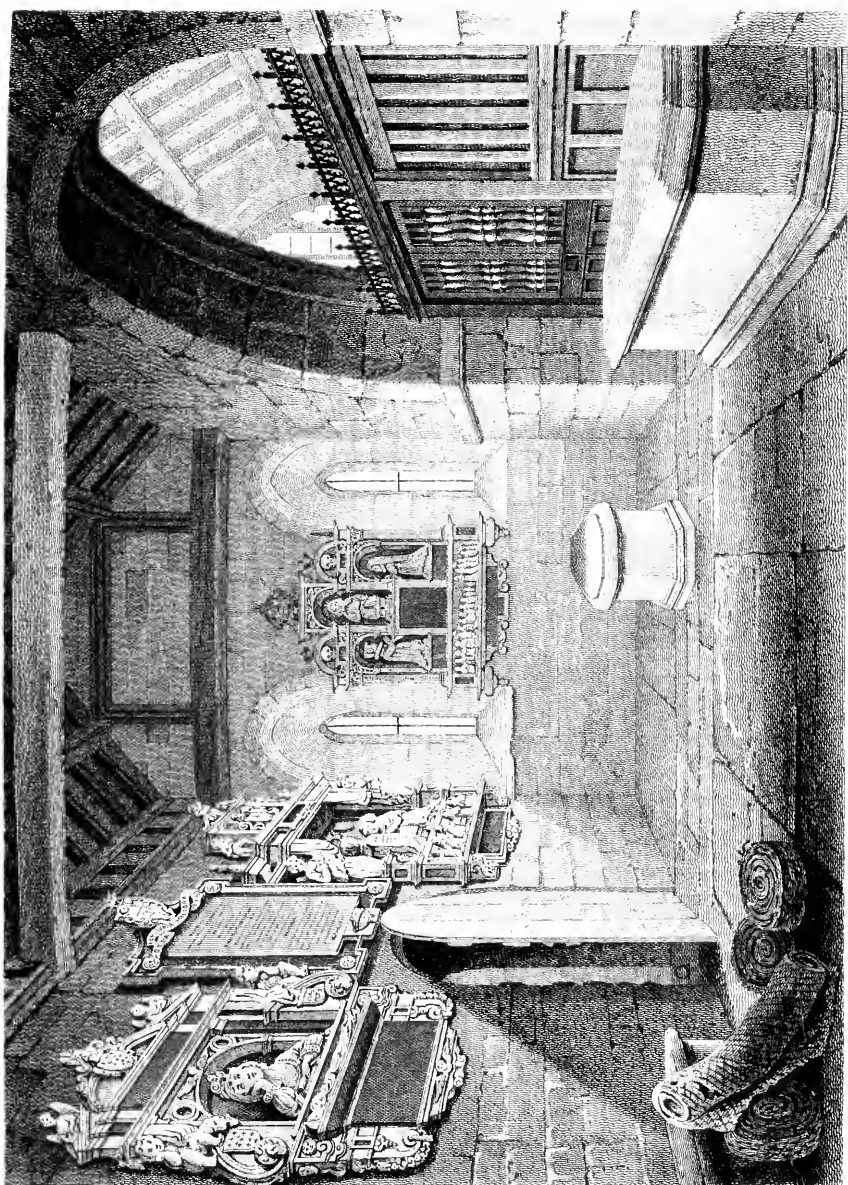
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MEMOIRS
OF
JOHN EVELYN, ESQ. F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF THE "SYLVA," &c. &c.

COMPRISING HIS DIARY, FROM 1641 TO 1705-6,
AND A SELECTION OF HIS FAMILIAR LETTERS.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

The Private Correspondence

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I. AND SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS;

ALSO BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,

AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF
KING CHARLES I. AND THE USURPATION.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

By WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. F.A.S.

A NEW EDITION, IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1827.

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PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I.

AND HIS

SECRETARY OF STATE, SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,

WHILST HIS MAJESTY WAS IN SCOTLAND, 1641,

AND AT OTHER TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

NICOLAS, Your aduertisments to me,* is so far from displeasing to me, that I comand you to continew it, & that as often as conuenientlie ye may. Deliuer these

* This letter is evidently the first sent by the King to Sir Edward Nicholas, in answer to his first communication respecting the proceedings subsequent to his Majesty's departure from the metropolis to settle affairs in the Scottish Parliament. This journey of the King was by no means agreeable to the English Parliament; for, so late as the 7th of August, the Commons desired the Lords to join with them in an attempt to delay the King's departure for fourteen days. Charles, however, gave his assent on that day to several Bills both public and private, and then bade the Parliament Farewell! The next day, although Sunday, the Commons actually sat, for the purpose of forming and presenting a petition on the subject. On the 9th, his Majesty again gave the royal assent to four Bills, and took leave a second time, telling the Parliament that he should return before Michaelmas, if possible. At two o'clock he set off, accompanied by the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Richmond. His journey must have been performed with a rapidity nearly equal to that of the present day.

inclosed. (I hope ye know by that yesterday that on
[one] is to my Wyfe.) So I rest

Your friend,

Eden. 15 Aug. 1641.

CHARLES R.

Aduertise my Wyfe vpon euery dispache, that she may
(if she will) wryt; & make one when & as often as she
will comand you.

The QUEEN to SIR E. NICHOLAS.

Maistre Nicholas, I haue reseaued your letter: and
that you send me from the King: which writes me word
he as been vere well reseaued in scotland: and that
both the armie: and the people: have shued a creat joye
to see the King: and such: that they say was neuer
seen before: pray god it may continued: for the letter
that I writt to you conserning the commissionaires it is
them that are toe dispatch bussinesse in the Kings
absence: I thank you for your care of geuing me aduises
of what passes at London: and soe I reste

Your frand,

Otelands,* the 19 August. HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Indorsed, "For Mistre Nicholas."

In Sir E. N.'s writing:

"19^o Aug. 1641. The Queenes ler to me."

* Oatlands at this period was the Queen's property, having
been granted to her some years before, by the King, for
her life. In the preceding year, 1640, her son Henry of
Oatlands was born there. Oatlands had long been a royal
mansion; but the house then stood on low ground, near the
present kitchen garden (see "History of Surrey"); and
was pulled down during the Usurpation, with the exception
of a small part, which was again given up to the Queen upon
the Restoration.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Yesterday I received yo^r Maties of the 17th of this month, & in it one to the Queene, & another to my Lo: Keeper : * I forthwh presented yo^r Maties to the Queene, wch when she had read, her Matie comanded me to forbear to deliver that to my Lo. Keeper, & took it into her owne custody, for that her Matie said it was written att her entreaty, & that there is now noe occasion for ye delivery of it, as her Matie tells me she will by her next satisfy yo^r Matie, & I hope I have donne nothing but my duty in obeying her Maties comaund touching that letter.

*Apostyled in
the King's
writing: †*

*Ye ar verrie
right*

Satterday morning the Committees did set forth towards Scotland, ‡ & that day the Peers adiourned their House till too-morrow: § it is conceaved there will not be much

* Sir Edward Lyttelton, created Lord Lyttelton in this year.

† What is so apostyled by the King will be printed in the margin.

‡ These Commissioners were appointed by both Houses on the 16th of August, with instructions to negociate with the Scottish Parliament respecting the affairs of that kingdom.

§ The Commons, however, had been very busy since the King's departure: having brought fresh charges against the impeached Bishops; voted Perry, Jermyn, and Suckling, guilty of high treason; and established a complaint against the Queen's Capuchin Friars. Though the King was gone, yet Commissioners were left to exercise the royal functions in Parliament, and the assent was given to the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage on the 16th of August.

business donne now in P'liam't untill they shall understand of the arrivall and recepcon of their Comittees by yor Matie, whereon all their eyes are fixed.*

The Constable of ye Tower is comanded by ye Lo^{des} House forthw^h to reside constantly in the Tower, & order is given (as I am credibly tould) that there shall be 40 souldiers added to reinforce that garrison, w^{ch} new soldiers are to be contynued & paid by the P'liam't here during yor Maties absence.

Upon a Conference had betweene both Houses, there is an order of P'liam't for ye present disarming of all Recusants,† and some Comittees of the Houses are appointed to see ye statutes on that behalf forthw^h put in execucon.

Upon consideracon of ye great ielousies that are rayseed here & spread abroade, as if there were some intencons to make use of some of ye armyes to ye preiudice of ye Parliamt, and upon the apparent delay that hath been used in ye paying off, & disbanding ye English armye, w^{ch} hath bene cleerly throughe ye negligence of those whom ye Parliamt hath imployed in that service, I humbly beseech yor Matie to give me leaue to offer to yor Maties consideracon, whether it may not be fitt for yor Matie p'sently to wryte yor P'pres to the Speaker of one or both Houses, taking notice of ye delay & sloth that hath bene

Heerein I haue
tane your ad-
uyce, the in-
closed to the
Keeper being
to that effect,
onlie I would
haue you ad-
uertice my
wyfe of it.

* Before adjournment they made fresh orders against the Recusants, and also for raising money speedily for the use of the army.

† This originated in a complaint from the Commons to the Lords on the 17th of August, that the laws for disarming them were neglected, and that many of them were even screened by members of the Upper House.

used in ye disbanding the armies, wch have bene kept on foote here to ye great greevaunce of yo^r subets in ye North, & att a heavy charge to yo^r kingdome in England in g'rall, notwithstanding yo^r Matie hath from tyme to tyme by frequent speeches to both Houses often called upon them to ease this yo^r kingdome of that greevous burthen. Yo^r Matie now understanding, that (when by ye agreem^t wth the Scots all the Englishe forces are to be disbanded) ye Lo. G'rall hath advertised ye Houses that there wants 140. thousand pounds to finishe that worke, therefore yo^r Matie may be pleased to quicken the Parliamt here, & to let them know how sensible yo^r Matie is of ye long sufferings of yo^r people of England, & to comaund the Houses, (all other matters set apart,) forthwith to apply themselves to free this yo^r kingdome of soe heavy & dayly a charge. Such a letter would let yo^r people here see yo^r care & affec'on to them, & make appeare cleerely to the world that there is noe intenc'on on yo^r Maties p^{te} to make use of the army here, as may be otherwise insinuated.

I humbly beg yo^r Maties p'don for this bold & tedious discourse, wch is noe other then an effect of the dutifull affeccion of

Yo^r Maties

most humble & most

obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Continew your
aduertisments
for w^{ch} I thanke
you. C. R.

As I was closing this packet, I received one from Edenburgh, wherein was yo^r Maties le^r of the 19th p'esent: I shall lett my Lo. Keeper understand what yo^r Matie hath comaunded me to deliver to my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes (who is now in his circuit in Suffolke)

touching ye 4 Irishe regiments,* and desire his Lopp (in ye others absence) to acquaint ye Lo^{des} House therewith. Yo^r Maties le^r of ye 19th p'sent I have sent to ye Queene.

Westminster, 23^o Aug. 1641.

Under this date, in the King's writing, "Eden. 28."

Indorsed, "For yo^r Matie." And signed by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Likewise indorsed by Sir E. N. "My le^r to ye King of ye 23 Aug. 1641. Apostiled ye 28th."

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, I thanke you for the account you haue giuen me by yours of the 14, comanding you still to continew the same course, as lykewais that in my name ye tell the same to my Lord Cheefe justice Bankes† also: So I rest

Your frend,

Eden: 19 Aug: 1641.

CHARLES R.

You must tell my L. Cheefe justice Bankes from me that I am so far now engaged to the Spanish Embassador‡ for fower regiment, that I cannot now goe backe, for it was assured me before I cam from London that bothe Houses were content, onlie it wanted the for-

* When the Irish regiments were on the point of being disbanded, the Ambassadors of France and Spain made an application to the Parliament on the 14th of August for leave to hire several regiments for foreign service; but their application was refused.

† Sir John Banks, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

‡ Don Alonzo de Cardenas. This is noticed in the preceding letter.

malitie of voting : whereupon I gaue an absolute order for the leauing & transporting of those men, but also reiterated my promises to the Embassador : wherefor he must tell the Houses from me that thease leauies must not be stoped. C. R.

Addressed : " For your selfe."

Indorsed by Sir E. N. " 19^o Aug: 1641: R. 23^o. His Maties ler to me."

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

This morning about 6 o'clock I received by ye hand^s of Mr. Murray yo^r Maties of the 22th, & have acquainted my Lo. Keeper,* that yo^r Matie is well satisfied wth his lett^r, whereof his Lopp is very glad, & acknowledgeth yo^r Maties great goodnes to him in it.

Before my receipt of yo^r Maties last letter I had acquainted my Lo. Keeper (in ye absence of my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes) w^h what yo^r Matie commanded me, touching yo^r Maties engagem^t for transportac'on of 4 regiments of Irishe for ye service of the Spanishe King, & w^h ye reasons of it, & his Lopp having that morning made ye same knowne to the Lo^des, they thereupon had ye next day a conference w^h ye Comons House, the

I see your discretion may bee trusted in greater maters.

* This was Lord Lyttelton, who succeeded Finch, and of whom it was justly said that he was a good Englishman, a good subject, and learned in the laws; but not having the same dexterity that his predecessor had, he was not so fitly qualified for his important trust in such perilous and critical times.

result of wch conference is not as yet reported to y^e Lo^{des} House, but I am tould, that the Comons* are very much against these 4 regiments going for Spayne, in regard it crosseth wth yor Maties & y^e Houses Declaration against y^e Spanyard on behalf of y^e Prince Elector; † & therefore my Lo. Keeper thinkes not fitt to hasten y^e report of that conference: As soone as there shal be any order or resolucon in it by y^e Parliamt, I shall advertise it to yor Matie. I sent yor Maties letter to Sir Ph. Maynewaring ‡ by an expresse messenger into Northamptonsh: whither S^r Phillip was gonne 2 dayes before my receipt of yor Maties to him.

Since Satterday last there hath beene noe business done in Parliamt of any publique nature § that I can

* On the 28th of August, when the House of Commons again took this affair into consideration, Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke loudly against it, founding his objections, principally, upon the points here stated by Sir Edward Nicholas. The Commons then refused assent to the measure, in which the Lords agreed with them; and a letter, expressing their refusal, was sent to the King.

† Elector of Bavaria, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and nephew to Charles I. being the son of his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

‡ He was of Over Peover, in Cheshire, and father to the first Baronet of that name, so created after the Restoration. He was Sheriff of Cheshire in 1639, and Captain in the Cheshire light horse. Collins does not mention his knighthood.

§ This is curious; for it appears, by the Records of Parliament, that on the 25th of August the Lords sequestrated the temporalities of Dr. Roger Manwaring, Bishop of St. David's, for his contumacy to an order of the House; and

heare of; but only the order made by the Lodes touching y^e election of y^e present Sheriffs of London, whereof I gave advertisem^t to Mr. Thre'r by myne of y^e 23th. * This day y^e Lo. Mayor was att the Upper House to get an alteration of that their Lo^{ps} order, but the House would not recede from it in any p'ticular, whereat y^e Lo. Mayor & cheif cittizens seeme to be much troubled.

There is here great expectation what recepcion yo^r Matie will give to y^e Comittees sent hence. I wishe yo^r Matie could have soe tymely expedited yo^r affaires there, as that you might have bene redly to come away before their arrivall there.

They came heere yesternight.

Yesterday y^e Comons ordered † that y^e pay of Coll. Willmot, Ashbournham, & y^e rest of y^e soldiers (that are questioned in P'liam't), shalbe sequestred untill their

on the day on which Sir Edward wrote his letter both Houses had a conference respecting a proposed recess of Parliament.

* This evidently relates to the dispute then existing between the Lord Mayor and the Commons of London; the former laying claim to the choice of one of the Sheriffs, by a prescription of three hundred years. The Livery refusing to abide by this, the Court of Aldermen petitioned the King to decide upon the affair; but the King referred it to the House of Lords, who, after some delay, ordered that the Commonalty should proceed to the choice of the two Sheriffs, at the same time recommending that they would have those who had already been nominated by the Mayor. The Sheriffs chosen were George Garret and George Clark. Sir William Acton, Bart. was the then Lord Mayor; but he was superseded by the Parliament, and replaced by Sir Edmund Wright.

† Not recorded in the Parliamentary Debates.

business shalbe heard & adjudged. And upon occasion of y^e discourse of that busines, Mr. Selden did then in that house deliver his opinion with much confidence, that by y^e ACT OF OBLIVION Mr. Percy and Mr. Jermyn,* & all y^e rest that are questioned with them, are freed and pardoned, w^{ch} he argued so strongly out of the very words of that Act, as y^e sages of that house, who oppugned his opinion, did not (in y^e iudgem^t of able men) give any reasonable or satisfactory answer to it: the House seemed to be much amazed att this slipp in that Act, & were not well pleased with him who delivered this opinion: some said that it was not in y^e intencion of y^e House to pardon them, whereupon it was replied that lawes are to be understood according to the words in y^e Act, & not according to the intencion of y^e makers, further than y^e words will beare.

This day the House of Peers have comitted to prison y^e man that printed the scandalous ballet concerning the Qu. Mother's going away, & will consider of further punishm^t for him, and they have ordered that these ballets shalbe burnt by y^e hand of y^e hangman.

* Jermyn had been especially implicated in this affair, by the confession of Colonel Goring, made on his examination concerning what was called a "Conspiracie against the State." Goring asserted that he, himself, had refused concurrence with the proposals to put the army into a posture to serve the King, to send a Declaration to Parliament that Episcopacy should not be infringed upon, and that the King's revenue should be established; for he said that he thought it belonged to an army to maintain, not to contrive acts of state. At the same time he confessed that his own object, in joining in the proposed measures, was to solicit "a redresse for the miseries of the souldiers."

The inclosed from my Lo. Marshall * will give yor Matie an account of ye cause of ye Qu. Mother's stay att Dover. Thanke him in my Name for his account.

Albeit this employmt wch yor Matie hath bene pleased to honour me w'thall, hath drawne much envy vpon me, & (as I heare) set some on worke to pry into my accons past & present, yet since I enioy ye comfort of yor Maties grac'ous opinion & acceptaunce of my poore & honnest endeavours, I shall not vallue any mans mallice, but rather smile att their ignoraunce, that conceave there is any other felicity in this employmt, then to deserve to be accounted an honest man, & Indeed ye haue it in a full measure.

Yor Maties

most humble & most obedient seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The Queene sent me word she had written lately to yor Matie, & would not write by this dispatche. I receaued this yesterday.

Westminster, 26^o Aug.

Written by the King, "Eden. 31, 1641."

Indorsed, "For yor most excellent Matie."

Written by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Further indorsement in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.:

"26 Aug. 1641. Myne to his Matie apostyled 31^o Aug.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, I haue nothing to answer to yours of the 20: (wch I receaued yesterday in the euening), save onlie to thanke for your advertisments: but heering from good hand, that the House of Comons meanes to refuse my

* Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

General Pardon,* I haue thought fitt to comand you, to comand my L. Keeper to thinke of a Declaration to be put fourth in my name (in case my Pardon be refused) to make my fauorable intentions knowen to all my English subjects, how I consulted it with the best lawers, to make it of most aduantadge that might bee for all my said people. This being the summe, for the forme & the penning, I leave it to bee consulted there: to w^{ch} end, I com'and you first to goe to my Wyfe, to receaue her directions in it (for she knowes my mynde fully in this particular) and according to what she shall direct you, to com'and my Lo. Keeper for the drawing of it, fitt for my hand, with all speede, & so I rest

Your frend,

CHARLES R.

Eden. 25 Aug: 1641.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Matie,

Yo'r Maties of the 25th of this moneth founde me at Oatlands on Sunday last, as I was attending the Queenes com'aunds, where I p^esently p^esented to her Royall hand yo^r Maties ler, & acquainted her Matie what you had

* This will be found fully explained in a subsequent letter. It seems as if the King wished to secure Percy, Wilmot, Ashburnham, and the others engaged with them, from the malice of the Parliament, but was unwilling to pardon them expressly by name, and therefore issued this General Pardon in order to include them, without appearing to confirm the charges brought against them as acting under his privity and directions.

I am satisfied
with this ac-
count.

written to me concerning a Declarac'on; her Matie saith that she now vnderstands that ye Com'ons will not suddenly refuse yo^r Maties Pardon; but howsoever she com'aunded me to speake wth my Lo. Keeper about it according to yo^r Maties leter, & to wishe him to consider of a fitting Declarac'on agreeable to yo^r Maties discrecc'ons, that it may be redly in case the G'ral Pardon shal be refused, & this to be donne wth all possible secrecy. My Lo. Keeper promiseth to pepare such a Declarac'on against too-morrow, & hath wished me then to attend his Lopp to Oatlands, there to shew it to her Matie, & as soon as it shal be perfected to send it for yo^r royal approbac'on. The busines will well beare this delay, for that ye Peers have this day adiourned their House till Munday next; and ye Com'ons (I heare) intend to adiourne too-morrow, also till Munday; & it is resolv'd that both Houses shall adiourne on Wensday se'night till ye 26th of Octobr. I humbly desire to know yo^r Maties pleasure whether when this Declarc'on shall be printed, it may not be fit to shew ye same to my Lo. Banks or Mr. Attorney,* or both, before it be engrossed for yo^r Maties hand. I have bene tould that some take excepc'ons to yo^r Maties Pardon, for that it excepts all matters of eccl'all cognisaunce, albeit ye same exception is in ye Pardon of 21^o Jacobi, but I beleeve that this excepc'on of theirs is but a pretence, & that ye mayne thing that they dislike in it is, that Mr. Percy & ye rest of his company are comprehended in it. Both Houses have had a conference upon yo^r Maties answeare and reasons sent by Mr. Nichols † touching ye com'ission, and

Show it to both.

I am of your mynd; for their petition to mee was to have it as neer to that of 21 Jacobi as might bee.

* Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

† This was Mr. Anthony Nichols, Member for Bodmyn, whom the Commons, on the 18th August, had ordered to

I heare, thoughe many would have bene better pleased that yo^r Matie had signed ye com'ission for their co'mittees, yet they doe not much dislike yo^r Maties answere, since by yo^r grac'ous permission their com'ittees have leave to come to Edenburg to doe the busines they are principally sent for.* I have herewth sent yo^r Matie y^e substance of 2 messages delivered yesterday from ye Com'ons to y^e Peers. The ordinance therein menc'oned touching ye disarming of Recusants is this day ordered to be printed (as I heare). There hath bene some of yo^r Maties deer killed in Windsor forrest near Egham by ye inhabitants of that towne & of y^e parishes adioyning, who hunted in y^e day tyme by 80 & 100 in a company: S^r Ar. Maynwaring † hath bene amongst them,

I com'and you to speake with the L. Keeper, my L. Bankes, and my learned Councill, to see what course is best to be taken to stop theas insolencies in tyme to cum.

be their messenger to carry the Petition, Commission, and Instructions to Edinburgh for the King's approbation. It is stated in the Parliamentary Records, that the sum of £1000 was then ordered for the "Commissioner's Charges."

* The King's answer was read to both Houses on the 30th, in which he said that he did not find it necessary to sign any such Commission; but was "graciously pleased to give leave to the said Members to come and attend us here in Scotland, to see the ratification of the said Treaty, and what else belongs thereunto."

The Parliamentary Debates say, that "these reasons seemingly contented both Houses, for we hear no more of the matter from either of the Journals;" but Sir Edward Nicholas explains the business with more probability.

† He had property in Chertsey, in the vicinity; and on the 17th of September was appointed, along with many others, to hold an inquest in the bounds of Windsor Forest within the bailiwick of Surrey. The people had been enraged by the proceedings of the Justice in Eyre, the Earl of Holland. Manning and Bray's Hist. Surrey, vol. I. Introduction, pp. xii. xiii.

and wth good words & promises hath made them forbear
for y^e p^{esent}. When both Houses shal be adiourned till
Octobr I beleeve here wil be little or noe busines in this
towne, where y^e sicknes & small pox increaseth, and
therefore if yo^r Matie please to give me leave, I humbly
desire to reside att Oatlands or att my house att Thorpe
(w^{ch} is but 3 myles from Oatlands), whether I can take
order that all packets shall w^{thout} any delay or p^{re}judice
be brought to me. I assure yo^r Matie I would not p^{re}-
sume to crave this favour, if I could imagine that any
inconvenience or delay might thereby happen to y^e ser-
vices yo^r Matie hath bene pleased to comitt to y^e care of,

Yr Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 31^o Aug. 1641. Apostyled 7^o 7bris.

Eden. 5 Sep.

Indorsed, "For yo^r sacred Matie."

And by the King, "Yours apostyled."

I willinglie
grant your de-
syre.

I receaved yours
of the 2: the 6
of this mouthe,
vpon w^{ch}, &
other reasons, to
stay this dis-
pache untill the
8: euen now I
receaved your of
the 4: w^{ch} re-
quyes no an-
swer.
Eden. 8 Sept.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r Matie,

Since my let^r of y^e 26th of this moneth it hath bene
here ordered by both Houses of Parliamt, that out of y^e
monny accruing to yr Matie by vertue of y^e last Act of
Tonnage & Poundage,* there shal be paid for the use

* This was taken into consideration by the House of
Commons on the 26th of August, in consequence of long
arrears due to naval officers, as well as from the provisions
in the magazines being decayed. Part of the money was

of the Navy 10 m. lb. for this moneth of Aug: & 15 m. for each of y^e other 3 monethes to y^e first of Decembr next, amounting in all to 55 m. lb. and upon a message sent by y^e Parliamt to y^e Com'ission^{rs} of y^e Treasury, they have given warraunt accordingly.

There hath bene a conference between y^e 2 Houses about some course to be taken for preserving of the myne of saltpeetre, but there is noe order as yet settled for it.

The sentence whereby London Derry was adiudged forfeited to y^r Matie, is by y^e House of Com'ons (as I heare) declared Nul, & that land thought fit to be restored backe to y^e Citty of London.*

The Parliamt here (upon a conference of both Houses) hath resolved to make a recess on wensday y^e 8th of Sepber to y^e 26th of Octobr next, unlesse before that day there shal hapen some emergent busines, w^{ch} it is thought wil be as y^e intelligence from Scotland shall please us here.

The Qu. Mother † remaines still att Dover, expecting

also to be expended in fitting out ten men of war and ten merchant ships for the defence of the narrow seas; the charge of which would amount to £57,000, but only £1200 as yet appropriated out of the tonnage and poundage. The farmers of the Customs were ordered to make good the deficiency, to the amount of £15,000 per month.

* This refers to the proceedings of the Star Chamber against the City for non-performance of conditions in the charter granted to them by James the First. Vide Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 376.

† i. e. the Queen Dowager of France. See what Mr. Evelyn says of her in his Journal.

The departure of the Queen Mother from England, where she had arrived in 1638, was palatable to the Parliament

You must command my learned Councill, in my name, that they doe what they may that they may that the same vote passe not the Higher House.

(as my Lo. Marshall writes to me this morning) y^e re-
turne of a messenger from Flanders, soe as tuesday next
will be y^e soonest that her Matie wil embarque.

All things are like to be now very still here, every
mans expectac'on being fixed upon yor Maties & the
Parliaments proceedings there, w^{ch} I beseech God to
direct & governe, as may be most for y^e honor & pros-

You may assure
euery one, that
now all difficul-
ties ar pased
here, as I have
co'manded Vane
to tell you more
at large.†

party, whose scribes at that period vomited forth the harsh-
est vituperatives against her. In a curious astrological re-
print of Grebner's book, accompanied by observations on
the life and death of Charles, it is said that on her coming,
“all men were against her, for it was observed that wherever
or unto whatever Country this miserable old Queen came,
there followed immediately after her either the plague, war,
famine, or one misfortune or another.”—Yet the same writer,
when speaking of her departure, says, “a sad spectacle it
was, and produced tears from mine eyes and many other
beholders, to see an aged leane decrepit poore Queen, ready
for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place
of residence in this world left her, but where the curtesie
of her hard fortune assigned it. She had beene the onely
statelie and magnificent woman in Europe.”—She had, whilst
in England, an allowance of £100 per day; and the Par-
liament gave her £10,000 for travelling expences when
going away.

* The King's confidence and indulgence towards Vane,
upon all occasions, though so badly requited, was extremely
remarkable. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, states a
curious instance of it; where, speaking of the economy of
Charles's Court, he says that “besides the women who at-
tended on his beloved Queen and Consort, he scarce ad-
mitted any great officer to have his wife in the family. Sir
Henry Vane was the first, that I knew in that kind, who

perity of yor Matie & of your royall posterity & all yor kingdomes, and this shall ever be ye dayly prayers of,

Yor Maties

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was making up this packet I received an order of the Upper House of Parliamt to Sir Jo. Penington* for ye stay of ships bound for Ireland, a copy whereof I send inclosed, but whether there be any such ships in ye Downes, I cannot learne ye certeynty. The Queenes Matie tells me she will not wryte till Munday by Mr. Murray.

Westminster, 28^o Aug. 1641.

Eden. 3 Sep.

having a good diet as Comptroller of the Household, and a tenuity of fortune, was winked at; so as the Court was filled, not crammed."

* Sir John Pennington was a distinguished naval officer of that period, and was appointed by the King, a few months afterwards, to the command of the fleet; against this, the Parliament remonstrated in favour of the Earl of Warwick, and Sir John was obliged to resign. There was another Pennington, at that period, extremely active; but his name was Isaac, and he is very harshly spoken of by the loyal writers of that time, as a man who had enriched himself most flagitiously in the service, or rather through the influence and power of the Parliament. He was a merchant in the City.

The KING to Sir JOHN FINCH, Lord Keeper.

My Lo. Keeper,

Ye answer that I can giue to yours of 31. of Aug. is only, that I am very well satisfied wth it: wherefore ye cheefe subiect of this is, that hauing understood, that ye Lower House, in passing y^e Bill of Tunnage & Poundage, forgot to reserue that aduantage to y^e merchant in diners comodities w^{ch} I haue usually granted, therefore I co'maund you tell y^e Citty in my name, that though they their owne burgesses forgot them in P'liam't, yet I meane to supply that defect out of my affecc'on to them, soe that they may see that they need noe mediators to me, but my owne good thoughts; for as yet I assure you that I haue not bene sued to in this particular by any on their behalfe. Soe I rest

Your assured friend,

Eden. 7 Sep. 1641.

C. R.

I haue com'anded Nicholas to speake to you concerning the insolencies com'itted in y^e forest.

The above is in Sir E. N.'s hand-writing, and is thus indorsed:

“ 7^o 7^{bris} 1641. Cobby of his Maties let^r to my Lo. Keeper, to be communicated to the Citty.”

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

In the King's hand:

Monday 20 Sep.

May it please yo^r Matie,

I haue by my Lo. Carr receaved yo^r Maties com'aunds of y^e 8th of this moneth, apostiled upon my let^r of y^e

This dispache I receaued this morning, but tell my Wyfe that I haue found falte with you, because none of hers was within it.

Tell him, that I am satisfied with his letter, as indeed I am with you for the continuall accounts ye giue mee of my businesses.

31th of Aug. last, & have presented y^r Mat^{ies} to my Lo. Keeper, whoe hath alreddy com'unicated to my Lo. Mayor the effect of y^r Mat^{ies} grac'ous intenc'on towards y^e merchants that were not provided for by y^e Act of Tonnage & Poundage, w^{ch} was most dutifully & gratefully receaved by y^e Lo. Mayor, who will make known y^r Mat^{ies} great goodnes to all y^e merchants of this City. My Lo. Keeper hath appointed my Lo. Bankes, Mr. Attorney, Sr Art. Maynewaring & myself, to attend his Lopp att his house in y^e country on Munday next, to consider of y^e ryot com'itted in y^r Mat^{ies} forrest of Windsor, & of some fitting course to prevent y^e killing of any more deere there.

I have herewth sent y^r Mat^{ie} a list of y^e names of y^e Com'ittees of y^e Com'ons House, & y^e instrucc'ons given to them, w^{ch} I have gotten wth some difficulty.

The Com'ittees of y^e Lo^{ds} met yesterday in y^e afternoone in y^e Painted Chamber, & those of y^e Com'ons in y^e Excheq^r Chamber apart by themselves, & afterwards iointly. All their busines was to peruse & answer le^{rs}, w^h they receaved from my Lo. G'rall,* & their Comittees in Scotland, & to take order for monnyes for paymt of the army, trayne of artillery, and garrisons.† They have given order to my Lo. Adm^{ll} to send shippes to y^e Holy Island ‡ to fetch thence ordinance and amunic'on, &c. as y^r Mat^{ie} by y^e order inclosed may

* Earl of Essex.

† The Lord General stated in his letters that it was the intention of the Scottish Parliament to keep 5000 in array, until the whole of the English army was disbanded, and the "fortifications at Berwick and Carlisle slighted."

‡ On the coast of Northumberland.

perceave. I heare that these Com'ittees have written to ye Com'ittees in Scotland, that if by their next let^{rs} they shall certefy them that there is noe more busines for them in Scotland, then they will consider of calling them home.

By a cobby herewth sent, yo^r Matie will perceave ye course that is here taken for paymt & discharge of ye garrison of Carlile, & accordingly the Paymaster hath alreddy received £4000, & is too-morrow to have ye rest of the monny, for ye p^{esent} carriage, whereof he hath taken order, soe as it shal be there by ye 3d or 4th of 8ber, w^{ch} is ye soonest it can possibly be carried thither by cart.

The Declarac'on of ye Com'ons House * was Sunday last read in ye parishe church here in Westminster, & is sent to ye sheriffs of all counties to be published. There is noe man prayeth more fervently for yo^r Maties prosperous dispatch of yo^r affaires there, & safe & speedy returne, than

Yo^r Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

I heare ye Com'ittees here have taken order for monnyes for paymt & discharge of yo^r Maties garrison at Berwick, & that it is to be sent downe att 3 severall sendings, w^{ch} will require some longer tyme.

Westminster, 15^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

* This was against all superstitious rites and observances in public worship; amongst which they enumerated crucifixes, images of the Virgin Mary, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. They also ordered the Communion Tables to be moved from the east end of all churches and chapels; and all sports and pastimes to be prevented on Sunday.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Matie,

According to my advertisem^t yesterday, both Houses of Parliam^t have this day adiourned till 20^o Octo^{br} next. They have appoynted Comittees to meete during the recess,* & their first day of meeting is to be Tuesday next, & then they are to adiourne from tyme to tyme as they shall thinke good. Their principall busines is to receave & annswere all le^{rs} from Scotland, according to instrucc^ons alreddy given to the Comittees there, whom they have power to call home if they see cause. They have also power to send downe monny to y^e army, & to doe what they shall think requisite for y^e disbanding of it, & to dispose of y^e cannons and artillery in y^e North, & they are to make report of the whole busines att y^e next meeting of both Houses.

There was not att parting a very p^rfect agreem^t (as I heare) betwene the 2 Houses in all things, for the Peers declyning to ioyn^e wth the Com[']ons in orders touching innovac^ons in y^e Church, the Com[']ons notwithstanding ordered y^e same to be printed, the particulars of w^{ch} orders are here inclosed.† I heare that the Lo^{ds} &

* Lists of those Committees may be found in the 9th volume of the Parliamentary History, p. 536.

† The Lords did not quarrel with the spirit of the resolutions of the House of Commons; but they made some slight alterations in the details. The Commons, however, went further on the day before adjournment than they had ventured to do previously; for it was ordered that a lecture might be set up, and an orthodox minister might be main-

Com'ons have intimated that none of the disbanded soldiers, either horse & foote, Englishe or Irishe, shalbe p'mitted to serve either the ffrench or Spanishe King, but that they may serve the States.* Upon a report that the Spanish and ffrench † Amb'dors had treated wth diverse of the horse & foote to serve their masters, the Co'mons House sent 2 of their members to each of their Amb'dors, to know by what warr^t they did goe about to levy any soldiers here, & by whose procurement they obteyned such warr^{ts}, but (it seemes) they could discover nothing att all.

As soone this day as the L^{ds} House was adiourned, I receaved from Withering's deputy 2 packetts of lers, y^e one directed to yo^r Matie and y^e whole P'liant^t, the other to y^e L^{ds} in P'liant^t; both w^{ch} I have sent now to Mr. Th'rer ‡ for yo^r Matie. I humbly beseech yo^r Matie that this le^r may be seene by noe other eye than yo^r owne, for I assure you the houses are very inquisitive after these that advertise yo^r Matie of any parliament busines. I hope yo^r Matie will now hasten for Eng-land, to put yo^r affaires here in good order, the armies

I receaved yours of the 8: yesterday, this, this day: but tell my Wife, that in neither of them, there was anie from her.

If you would haue bene sure of secrecie, you should haue inclosed them under my couer.

Be confident I will as soone as I may.

tained at the expence of any parishioners to preach on various occasions through the week, and also on the Sabbath where there was no sermon.

* This leave to serve the States does not appear on the Parliamentary Records.

† Popular prejudice had arisen to a great height against those diplomatic personages; for the House of Lords found it necessary on the 30th of August to issue an order for the punishment of some rioters who had insulted the French Ambassador and his servants.

‡ Sir Henry Vane.

being all disbanded but 4 regim^{ts}. I humbly beg yor Maties pardon for this tedious discourse from,

Yor Maties

Most humble and obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

It was almost nine o'clock at night before y^e Com'ons did adiourne; but y^e Lo^{ds} adiourned at 3 in y^e afternoone.

Westminster, 9^o Sepbris, 1641.

Eden. 13.

“ For yor sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

In Sir E. N.'s handwriting : 9^o Sepbris 1641. apostil. 13^o.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yor Ma'tie,

The le^r inclosed from my Lo. Marshall will give yor Matie an accompt of y^e Q. Mothers landing & recep'on in y^e Low Countries, by y^e care of y^e Prince of Orange. The Houses of Parliam^t here begin to be att some difference one wth another; the Peers take it not well that y^e Com'ons comanded to be printed an order for abolishing of innovac'ons, &c.* wthout their ap-

I am not much
sorie for it.

* This is the order formerly alluded to. Previous to adjournment, on the 9th, the Lords desired a conference on the subject of orders respecting Divine Service: but the Commons, without noticing that desire, instantly passed a resolution “ that this House doth not consent to these orders, or to any of them.” The Lords who signed the protest were, Bedford, Warwick, Clare, Newport, Wharton, and Kimbolton.

probac'on, & thereupon their LoPPs caused to be printed a former order made for observing y^e Booke of Com'on Prayer, whereupon (I heare) y^e Com'ons made (on thursday night a little before their adiournem^t) a Declarac'on against y^e Lords said former order, & some of y^e L^{dds} have also made a protestac'on against y^e same & entred it in their house, as yo^r Matie may perceave by y^e protestac'on herewth sent, & by the Declarac'on of y^e Com'ons House, w^{ch} (I am tould) is sent to Mr. Th'rer by his sonne, but I cannot here procure a copy it. † I have herewth sent yo^r Matie a copy of an ordinance of both Houses concerning y^e raying & transporting of forces out of England & Ireland. By a l^{er} w^{ch} is sent in this packet from Sr John Colepeper † to Marq. Hamilton, & by another sent by young Sr H. Vane to his father, ‡ yo^r Matie (if you call for y^e same) may see all the passages of y^e Com'ons House since Munday morning, w^{ch} have beene soe various & dissonant, as may be worthy yo^r Maties observac'on & informac'on.

There hath beene nothing spoken hitherto in Parliament concerning yo^r Maties Generall Pardon. If yo^r Matie overcome all difficulties there, & make firme to you yo^r good people of that kingdome, I beleeve it will not be difficult for you to put all things here in good order att y^e next recesse, by carrying a stedly and moderate hand upon yo^r affaires.

I am glad of that.

You may now say confidentlie in my name that they ar.

* Copies of these Declarations may be found in Rushworth's Collections; also in Nalson's.

† He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‡ Sir Henry Vane, sen. held his situation only until the 26th of November, when he was succeeded by Lord Falkland, immediately after the King's return.

Yo^r Matie will I hope pardon the tedious and empty
letr^s w^{ch} you receive from,

Yo^r Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 10 Sep^{bris} 1641.

Eden: 16:

“For yo^r sacred Ma[']tie.”

“Yours apostyled.” 10 7^{bris} 1641. Apost. 16^o.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r Matie,

I cannot add any thing of advertisem^t worthy yo^r
Maties notice since my last of ye 10th of this present,
only I can tell yo^r Matie that ye Declarac[']on of ye Com-
mons (whereof I could not then procure a cobby) is now
printed, as ye Duke of Richmond † can shew yo^r Matie,

* This, though a delicate affair, was not so dangerous as two years afterwards, when the Parliament, understanding that the Queen had pawned the crown jewels in Holland, ordered that whoever had, or should pay, lend, send, or bring, any money or specie into the kingdom, for or upon those jewels, or accept of any bill hereafter, should be considered an enemy to the state.

† De Larrey, in his characters, describes the Duke as at the head of the royalist Lords, not only from his near relationship to the King, but also on account of his personal qualities. At the early age of twenty-one he had been made a Privy Councillor, and married to the Duke of Buckingham's daughter.—“His wit, his courage, and his affection for the King, made him worthy the esteem and favour of the Court. But two qualities which he had, prevented his being service-

On the opposite page, in the King's handwriting:

I co[']mand you to draw up anie such warrant, as my Wyfe shall direct you, for the disposing of the great Collar of Rubies * that is in Holland, & tell her how I have directed you to wait her co[']mands in this; & that I am confident of your secretee in this, & anie thing else, that I shall trust you with. C. R.

to whome I have sent one from ye Ea. of Portland.* Mr. Th'rer's ler of ye 7th present, puts ye Queene in expectac'on every howre of l^{rs} from yo^r Matie by ye Lo. Carr.

Besides ye Queenes l^{rs}, yo^r Matie will herein receive one from my Lo. Keeper, who humbly prayes yo^r Maties pleasure for a new Sheriff for Nottinghamshire, as Mr. Th'rer will acquaint yo^r Matie. I find alreddy that I shall not (now ye Parliamt is adiourned) have much occasion to trouble yo^r Matie wth l^{rs}, but I shalbe never the lesse vigilant & industrious in my care to approve myself

Yo^r Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 13^o Sep^{bris} 1641.

Eden. 17.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

I received yesterday yo^r Maties of the 13th of this moneth by Mr. ffrisoll, & in it a let^r to the Queene, w^{ch} I instantly presented to her Royall hands, & acquainted her wth what yo^r Matie comaunded me. Her Matie tells me she wrote lately by my Lo. Carr,† & in-

able to the King, who loved him : the one was, his too great diffidence of himself; and the other (quite opposite) too great a haughtiness in point of honour. By the first he rendered himself too dependent; and by the latter, too obnoxious."

* Jerome Weston, second Earl of that title; a family now extinct.

† Lord Ker of Cesford; son to the Earl of Roxburgh,

I have dispatched this as is desyr-ed, & tell the Keeper that I expect a speedie account of this letter I send him.

And this lyke-
wais is meerlie
for the conuey-
ance of thease
two inclosed.

Ye had reason.

Eden: 23 Sept.
1641.

tends to write againe to yo^r Matie on Munday next by Mr. Wm. Murrey, & therefore forbeares to send by this packet, wch I now dispatch for conveyance of the inclosed from my Lo^d Keep^r. I had sent the 2 let^{rs} (wch were directed to yo^r Matie & ye Parliam^t) under yo^r Maties owne cover, but that I founde it was divulged by Withering's deputy, that there were such let^{rs} came to his hands, and by him sent to me, soe that it had beene a vayne thing for me to have concealed ye same from Mr. Th'rer, who I was sure had advertisem^t of them by another hand. All things here are in a great still, every one being busy in listening after the proceedings of the Parliam^t in Scotland, where Mr. Th'rer writes the people are stiffe, & seeme to be resolute not to recede from their proposic'ons, wch in my poore iudgem^t is bad newes, and of very ill example to us here.

I humbly thanke yo^r Matie for yo^r gracious leave granted me to reside at my house att Thorpe, for ye sickness & small pox contynues very rife in London and Westminster. I am now once a day, or att least once in 2 dayes, att Oatlands, and intended to be att Westminster every tuesday & wensday, to attend what shalbe donne there by the Comittees, having nothing in my affecc'on or ambition soe much, as by an exact dilligence & fidelity to approve myself

Y^r Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 18^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the first peer of the family, and ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excel^t Matie,

Yesterday I sent by packet a let^r to yo^r Matie from the Lo. Keeper, & should not now have troubled yo^r Matie, but that the oportunity of safe conveyance by this gent. doth prompt me humbly to minde yo^r Matie of some things in my poore opinion worthy yo^r Royall considerac'on.

I am confident yo^r Matie doth by this time cleerly perceave, how it is here insinuated upon all occasions, that Popery (wch is generally exceeding distastefull to yo^r subts of this kingdome) is too much favoured by yo^r clergy here, & in yo^r owne Court, & that this opinion (how vniustly soever laid by Brownists* on yo^r Maties governm't) hath & doth (more than any thing) preiudice yo^r Matie in ye esteeme & affecc'on of yo^r people, whose love I humbly conceive to be soe much yo^r Maties interest, as that it ought to be preserved & retheyned by yo^r Matie by all possible meanes: wherefore I humbly offer to yo^r Maties considerac'on, whether it be not requisite, that yo^r Matie should now (during this recess) give some publique assurance to the contrary: wch I

I thanke you fore putting me in mynd of the vacancie of Bishobricks, therefore I co'mand you to direct the B. of London to send me a list of all the vacant Bishobricks, & those notes wch he & I made concerning the filling of those places.

* It is unnecessary, with respect to these schismatics, to notice their peculiar tenets, any further than to remind the reader that they were as inimical to the Church of England as they professed to be to Popery. Their schism, also, began as early as the time of Elizabeth; and perhaps the love of persecution might have been as clearly manifested in power, as it was evident in adversity; for their founder boasted on his death-bed that he had been in thirty-two prisons during his religious warfare with the established authorities.

Brownrigg.

humbly conceave may be donne by yo^r p^esent conferring of such Bp^ricks and eccles^call dignities as are now voyde vpon persons, of whome there is not the least suspic[']on of favouring the Popish partie, such as may be* Dr. Prideaux, Bromwich, Gouge, Mr. Shute, & y^e like, if they will in these tymes accept of such p^eferm^ts, for I assure yo^r Matⁱe I am vnknowne to all and every one of them. Such men thus p^eferred, would not only give assurance of yo^r Matⁱe's firme resoluc[']on to maynteyne the Protestant religion here professed, but by filling vpp of y^e vacant Bp^ricks wth such persons, yo^r Matⁱe would gayne not only their votes for Episcopacy, &c. but many more, who seeing such divines p^efered, would rest confident that there is noe intenc[']on to introduce or connive at Popery.

Also concerning the booke of Co'mon Prayer, (to partes whereof y^e late Declarac[']on of y^e Co'mons House shewes there is some except[']on), yo^r Matⁱe having constituted such Bp^ps, may be pleased to declare yo^r redlines to reforme what shalbe thought amisse in it by yo^r clergy & Parliam^t, w^{ch} will prevent those that (in a zeale wthout knowledge) seeke to overthrow y^e good government & order wisely established in this Church: & thus by yo^r Matⁱe's tymely moderac[']on, you will put a bitt in their mouthes, who (vpon a popular pretence of y^e reliques of Popery) cry downe all that is of good order or decency in the Church.

* Prideaux was Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; he was made Bishop of Worcester in 1641, and died in 1650. Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Durham, was made Bishop of Exeter in 1641. Gouge and Shute were two principal leaders of the dissenting persuasion, and always abided by their old congregations.

And for a further assurance of yo^r Maties integrity in this reformac'on, I humbly offer it to yo^r Maties considerac'on whether it may not be necessary (before y^e next meeting in P'liam^t) to send away all the Capucins * & dissolve their cloyster, for if yo^r Matie doe it not yo^rself, I am misinformed if y^e P'liam^t fall not vpon them when they come againe together; & it would be much more for yo^r Maties hon^r, & more acceptable to yo^r people, & (it may be) safer for y^e Capucins, if in that particular yo^r Matie prevented the P'liam^t.

Hitherto, I lyke your opinion well, but concerning the rest, I know not what to say, if it be not to aduertice my Wyfe of the Parlaments intention concerning hir Capuchins, & so first to heare what she will say.

And now I humbly beg yo^r Maties pardon for my presumc'on in tendering to yo^r great wisdome these my vndigested thoughts, w^{ch} I assure yo^r Matie have bene communicated to noe other person in the world, but are (w^{thout} any p'tic'lar designe) meerely the yssues of my weake iudgem^t & indulgent care of yo^r Maties honor, p^eservac'on & service, w^{ch} I preferre before any thing in this world that can concerne

On the contrair I thanke you for this honest freedome.

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 19 Sepbris, 1641.

Eden. 26.

“ For yo^r sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

Superscribed by Sir E. N. “ 19^o Sepbris 1641. Apostl. 26^o. his Matie thankes me for his let and my freedome in it. It was sent by Mr. W^m. Murrey.”

* This order had been introduced on the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, and had been allowed to make an establishment here.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

I wonder of this, for he or Crispe, † assured me before my parting from London that it would be absolute free, before Bartholomytyde, therefore know the cause of this mistaking houseuer I lyke the course now taken by my Wyfe in this.

May it please yo^r most excellent M^tie,
 Yesterday Sr Job Harby,* & I attended the Queene about yo^r Maties collar of rubies, vpon w^{ch} he saith there is alreddy 25^{mo}. Her Matie hath let him vnderstand yo^r Maties pleasure concerning y^e disposing of it, whereupon he hath promised that he and Sr Jo. Nulls (who hath bene formerly employed in the pawning of it) will forthwth write to y^e partie in Holland wth whome it lyes engaged, to see what more monny may be had vpon it, and if that man will not lend any further considerable som'e, then Sr Job promiseth to doe his best to procure elsewhere as much more vpon it as he can, & therewth redeeme it out of the hands where it now lyes, & get y^e overplus for yo^r Matie, & he assures the Queene, that he will doe this wth secrecy, and all possible diligence.

It is so, & lykcs me well.

This inclosed from my Lo. Keeper was brought to me the last night to be conveyed to yo^r Matie, & will I hope give yo^r Matie an account of yo^r last let^r to his Lopp.

* He was of an ancient Northamptonshire family, the Harbys of Adston. His sister Emma was married to Robert Charlton, of Whitton, Esq. who suffered much for his loyalty in the cause of Charles the Second. Their son Sir Job was a Judge in the Common Pleas, and created a Baronet.

† This seems to be the same person afterwards engaged, in 1643, in the plan to seize the city of London for the King; in which Edmund Waller was a party, according to Rushworth's account; though Clarendon considers their plans as completely distinct.

Yo^r Matie may be pleased to procure from ye P^liament there some further reiterac^on of their declarac^on, that what yo^r Matie hath consented vnto concerning ye election of Officers there may not be drawne into example to yo^r Maties preiudice here, for if I am not misinformed there wilbe some attempt to procure the like Act heere concerning Officers before ye Act of Tonnage & Poundage wilbe passed to yo^r Matie for lief.

I heare that ye Comittee of the Com^ons hath appointed to take into considerac^on yo^r Maties Revenue ye next weeke, and that they will then set at least twice a weeke.* I am vnwilling to give yo^r Matie in yo^r great affaires there too long an interruption with the tedious lynes of,

Yo^r sacred Maties
Most humble & most obedient seruaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 24^o Sep^{bris} 1641.

I lyke your proposition, and shall gett as much as I may, howeuer I thanke you for your aduertisement.

I pray God, it be to good purpose, & that there be no knavery in it.

I command you to send, in my name to all those Lords that my Wyfe shall tell you of, that they faile not to attend at the downe sitting of the Parliament.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Being yesterday at Oatlands to attend the Queenes com^ounds, her Matie gaue me this paper inclos^d, wth comaund to send it this day to yo^r Matie: it was brought to ye Queene by ye Lady Carlile, † who saith she had

* The power given to these Committees, during the recess, was of a most unprecedented nature, almost equal to that of the three estates of the legislature. In vol. IX. of the Parliamentary History, page 537, a copy of them is inserted.

† This was the Dowager Carlisle, Lady Lucy Percy, se-

it from ye Lo. Mandeville.* I confesse it were not amise to have it published, but I had rather it should be donne by any other hand then yo^r Maties or ye Queenes, & therefore I could wishe yo^r Matie would conceale it for a day or 2, by w^{ch} tyme I know there wilbe other coppies of it sent into Scotland.

I shall.

The late crosse orders, & vnusuall passages in P^{li}am't a little before ye Recesses, are so distastfull to ye wiser sorte, as it hath taken off ye edge of their confidence in parliamentary proceedings, & I verily beleeve,

cond wife, and, at this date, relict of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle; a lady of great note in her time, celebrated by Waller, and an intimate acquaintance of Pym, and several of his party. Clarendon accuses her of perplexing the King's affairs. She was old enough to give up love for politics, being then upwards of forty.

* Son to the first Earl of Manchester of the Montague family, and formerly a personal friend of the King, having accompanied him on his romantic journey to Spain. The nature of the paper here alluded to, may be surmised from the fact that Lord Mandeville was an active member of the party which, at that period, was anxious to prevent a civil war by the removal of arbitrary ministers from the Royal Councils. In the preceding year he had been one of the Commissioners to arrange all causes of dispute with Scotland. He was best known, however, as the Lord Kimbolton, having at this period been called to the Upper House for his father's barony, though retaining the title of Viscount Mandeville by courtesy. Vide Collins's Peerage, vol. II. p. 93, for further particulars. His brother, Walter Montague, was a bigoted Catholic priest, Abbot of Pontoise in France, and Confessor to the Queen after the death of Father Phillips: he is further noticed in subsequent letters.

that if y^e Houses (when they next meete) shall approve of what was then done, it will loose them y^e reverence that hath bene heretofore paid to Parliamts.

I heare there are divers meetings att Chelsey att y^e Lo. Mandevilles house & elsewhere by Pym* and others, to consult what is best to be donne at their next meeting in P'liamt: & I beleve they will in y^e first place fall on some plausible thing, that may redintegrate them in y^e people's good opinion, w^{ch} is their anchor-hold & only interest; & (if I am not much misinformed) that wilbe either vpon Papists, or vpon some Act for expunging of Officers and Counsellors here according to y^e Scottish p^{re}cedent, or on both together, & therefore it will import yo^r Matie, by some serious and faithfull advise, to doe some thing to anticipate or prevent them before their next meeting.

Yesterday at Oatlands I understood that Sr Jo. Berkeley & Capt. O'Neale† were come over, & that they

It were not amiss that some of my seruaunts met lykewais to countermynd ther Plots, to w^{ch} end speake wth my Wyfe & receaue her directions.

* This was a very short time previous to the tumults of the London apprentices, of which Pym, with several others, were strongly suspected of being instigators. Subsequently the City found it necessary to check those riots, and Venn, one of their members, having exerted himself to keep the peace, a party pamphlet observed that the rioters would have proceeded to the Mansion House, "but by the providence of God, and the great wisdom of Captain Ven, they were prevented."

† O'Neale was deeply implicated in what was called the plot for bringing up the English army against the Parliament, in which Percy, Goring, Ashburnham, and several others were said to have been engaged. May, in his History of the

had bene the day before privately at Waybridge: I was bould then to deliver my opinion to y^e Queene, that I did beleve if they continued in England they would be arrested (thoughe y^e P^liam't sit not) by vertue of y^e warrant, that was given att first to y^e Sarjant at Armes (attending y^e Com'ons House) to attache them. Her Matie seemed (when I tould it to her) to app^ehend noe lesse, & will I believe take order that notice may be given to them of y^e danger of it, but her Matie for y^e p^esent said she knew not where they were.

I wonder at this, for all this last Month every thurd day at furthest I have written to her.

The Queene being now every day in expectac'on of le^rs from yo^r Matie (having received non since tuesday last) doth forbear to write by this dispatch.

Wee know not y^e importance of y^e affaires there that deteyne yo^r Matie soe long, but it is by those that wishe best to yo^r service here, thought very necessary that yo^r Matie should hasten to be here as soone as may be possible before y^e 20th of 8ber; and if yo^r Matie leave behinde you some Councillors that you carryed hence, it is thought yo^r Councils here will not prosper the worse, nor be the lesse secreat, only it may be yo^r Matie may thereby deprive some menc'oned in y^e paper inclosed of their wonted intelligence. I beseech yo^r Matie to vouchsafe to advertise me whether this come safe to yo^r

Parliament, p. 65, (Mason's Edition,) calls O'Neale an Irishman and a Papist; and states that he was committed to the Tower, but escaped before trial.

Berkeley was an officer of high rank, always active in the King's service, and is repeatedly mentioned by Clarendon, particularly as Governor of Exeter, which he was obliged to surrender to the Parliamentary forces.

Royall hands, & to burne it, that it may never rise in iudgement against,

Yor sacred Maties
Most humble & obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 27 Sep^{bris} 1641.
Eden. 2 Oct.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I had noe sooner sent away my packet on Munday last but I received yor Maties apostile of ye 20th p^{esent}, & wth it a le^r to ye Queene, w^{ch} I forthwth p^{esent}ed to her royall hand, & yesterday I received yor Maties apostile of ye 23th of this moneth, & instantly sent away yor Maties le^r to the Queene, & that to my Lo. Keeper. I tould ye Queene that yor Matie had blamed me, that in severall of my dispatches there was no le^r from her Matie, for w^{ch} she hath now made a recompence by sending me two l^{rs}, w^{ch} yor Matie shall herein receive.

Tell her that this doble amends is abundant satisfaction.

The Com'ittees of ye Peers met not yesterday, but will tuesday next.* The Com'ons Committees met, & had before them Sr Jo. Berkley & Capt. O'Neale, who

* The Report of these Committees was made to the Parliament, on their meeting, by Mr. Pym. A copy of it is inserted in vol. X. of the Parliamentary History, p. 1.

Pym, in this report, says that Berkeley and O'Neale came voluntarily to his lodgings, for the purpose of submitting to the orders of the House; after which the deputy serjeant attached them on the first order.

I hope some day they may repent there seueritie.

coming over lately, were (as I heare) yesterday apprehended by y^e servaunt of y^e Serjant att Armes (attending y^e House of Com'ons) vpon y^e first warraunt that was issued for taking of them, & y^e Com'ittees would not bayle them, though they tendred it, alleaging they had not power to doe it.

Yesterday y^e Remembrancer of the City of London came to me from the Lo. Mayor & Court of Aldermen, & desired me to present to yo^r Matie the humble & dutifull thanks of the City for yo^r Maties great grace & goodnes in y^e busines of Tonnage & Poundage. I assure yo^r Matie that yo^r grac'ous ler concerning that matter hath wrought much vpon y^e affecc'ons, not only of y^e merchaunts, but of diverse others of this City.

When ye shall see littell Will: Murray then ye shall know certaiilie not onlie of my returne, but also how all will end heer.

The Remembrancer tould me further, that y^e Lo^d Mayor & Aldermen desired him to enquire of y^e day when yo^r Matie wilbe here, to y^e end that, according to their dutifull affecc'ons, they might meete yo^r Matie, to attend yo^r royall person into this City, thoughe he said y^e City (being become poore) were not able to give yo^r Matie any p^esent according to their custom. I have promised to let them know when yo^r Matie wilbe here as soone as I shall know y^e certeynty of it. Of all w^{ch} I thought it my duty to advertise yo^r Matie, that I may therein doe nothing but what may be agreeable to yo^r Maties good pleasure; notwthstanding I humbly conceave it imports yo^r Matie to cherish y^e affecc'ons & goodwill of this City.

It is Loudun not.

By let^{rs} to partic'lar p^{ersons} (w^{ch} I have seene) dated 25^o 7^{bris}, it is advertised from Edenb. that yo^r Matie hath nominated y^e Lo. Lodian to be Chancellor. Whatsoever y^e newes be that is come hither amongst y^e partie of y^e Protesters, they are observed to be here of late very

iocund & cheerefull, & it is conceaved to arise from some advertisements out of Scotland, from whose acc'ons & successes they intend (as I heare) to take a patterne for their proceeding here att their next meeting. I hartely pray for yo^r Maties speedy & happy returne, as being (of all men) most obliged to be

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 29^o Sep^{bris} 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 5 Oct.

“ For yo^r sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

29^o 7^{bris} 1641. Apost. 5 8^{bris}.

I belieue before all be done that they will not haue such great cause of joy.

This day I received yours of the 1: Oct.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Matie,

These inclosed from y^e Queene & my Lo. Keeper were brought to me y^e last night late to be sent to yo^r Matie. I have not as yet received from the BPP of London* a list of the vacant Bpricks: I beleeve his LOP hath not finished the notes yo^r Matie & his LOPP made concerning that busines, w^{ch} he tould me were very imperfect.

I beseech yo^r Matie to give me leave to put you in minde that there is noe one thing that you can now doe, that will better rectify y^e ielousies of yo^r good people, more satisfie their mindes, & settle their affecc'ons to yo^r Matie, then y^e good choyce you make of such as yo^r Matie shall now appoint to be Bpps; & as it wilbe much

I dout not but in this to giue good satisfaction.

* Dr. Juxon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

for yo^r service that y^e new Bpps be plausible persons, & beyond except'on, soe there would be a great care had that noe Bpp be removed, of whome there is any suspic'on of being any wayes popishly affected, or otherwise much disliked.

Ye may see by this that all ther desynes hit not, & I hope before all be done that they shall miss of more.

The partie here, who we say hath y^e best intelligence from Scotland (w^{ch} is Mr. Pym & young Sr Hen. Vane), report that y^e Ea. of Arguile* is Chauncellor of that Kingdome; it seemes it was soe designed.

I hear Mr. Th'rer is still at Raby,† & that he will not returne to Scotl. before yo^r Maties coming thence, w^{ch} makes me humbly to craue yo^r Maties com'aund whether I shall contynue the addresse of all packets still to him, or to whome else.

Addresse them to the Duke of Richemont.

I assure yo^r Matie it is here resolved (if my intelligence doth not much deceaue me) to presse yo^r Matie, at y^e next meeting in P'liamt for y^e like Act touching y^e elecc'on of officers and Councillors here, as yo^r Matie hath graunted to y^e Scots; & in this I believe yo^r Matie will find a more generall concurrency & accord, then hath bene in any one thing this P'liamt; for many here say, that otherwise all y^e great offices and places of councilors here, wilbe filled upp wth Scotsmen. I beseech yo^r Matie to vouchsafe to consider well of this particular,

You shall doe well to aduise with some of my best seruants there how this may be preuented, for I assure you, that I doe not meane to grant it.

* This report was false, as the King observes. Argyle was not Chancellor of Scotland. But Charles granted him a Marquisate; yet he was afterwards beheaded for high treason, the year after the Restoration. It is remarkable, however, that in 1651 he actually put the crown upon the head of Charles the Second at Edinburgh.

† His own country seat.

and be pleased to conceale that you have y^e advertisement of it from me.

I beseech God to direct & assist yor Matie and yor Councells soe as you may returne wth honour, wch shall ever be y^e prayer of

Yor sacred Maties,

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Thorpe, 3 Octobr. 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 9.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yor most excellnt Matie,

Yesterday I received yor Maties com'ands by an apostile vpon my ler of y^e 24th of y^e last moneth, & forthwth p^esented yor Maties to y^e Queene, and sent that to my Lo. Keeper; & wth this yor Matie will receive 2 lettrs from y^e Queene, & one from my Lo. Keeper.

It hath bene here confidently said, by those that holde correspondency wth y^e Engl. Comittees in Scotland, that y^e Ea. of Arguile shalbe at length Chauncellor, & that y^e Lo^d Amont* shall not be Th'rer; &, if I am not much misinform'd, they are here as peremptorily resolved to presse & put upon yor Matie a Lo. Th'rer &

* This was Levingston, Lord Almont, who had the first command under Lesley in the Scottish army, and was afterwards created Earl of Callendar. Charles certainly intended to give him the office of Lord Treasurer, but was forced to put it into commission, naming the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsey, as Commissioners.

Though* I cannot returne so soone as I could wishe, yet I am confident that you will fynde ther was necessitie for it, & I hope that manie will miss of there ends.

some other officers before they will settle yo^r returne, & nothing can brake their designes here but yo^r Maties presence; & if yo^r Matie do not hasten to be here some dayes before ye next meeting in Parliamt, I doubt there wilbe few that will dare to appeare here to oppose ye party that now swayeth; & I pray God there be not some designe in deteyning yo^r Matie there till yo^r affaires here be reduced to the same state they there are in. I assure yo^r Matie ye opinion of wise men here is, that to have what officers you desire in that kingdome cannot make soe much for your service there, as yo^r absence hence at this tyme will preiudice you in businesses of more importaunce here: and as for the Lo. Montrosse† & ye rest, some here (that pretend to understand ye condic'on of their case) are of opinion, that ther innocency is such, as they will not fare ye worse for yo^r Maties leaving them to ye ordinary course of justice there.

This may be trew that you say, but I am sure that I miss somewhat in point of honnor, if they all be not releued before I goe hence.

I am credibly assured, that ye Citty of London growes very weary of ye insolent carriage of ye Schismaticks, finding their way of governmt to be wholly arbitrary. Alderman Gourney [Gurney] (according to his right

* That the King should find any difficulty in settling his Scottish affairs, seemed very extraordinary to some of the politicians of that time; Old Grebner, or rather his Editor, says, "The Devill was in the crags of the Scots, if he left them not contented, who gave them whatever they required." Bulstrode, also, in his Memoirs, confirms that fact; but says, in a more respectful manner, "parted a contented King from a contented people."

† Montrose had very recently quitted the Covenanting party, and joined the King. Vide Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. IX. p. 328.

and place) is elected Lo. Mayor notwithstanding y^e opposi'on of y^e factious party, through y^e stoutnes and good affecc'on of one of y^e new Sheriffs (called Clerck), who while y^e factious persons were making a noyse, & would not proceede to y^e elecc'on, proposed Ald'man Gourney (who I heare is very well affected & stout), & carry'd it, & y^e Schismaticks (who cryed noe elecc'on) were silenced wth hisses, & thereupon y^e Sheriff dismissed y^e Court.*

Yor Matie will herewth receive from my Lo. of London y^e notes yo^r Matie sent for to him; his Lopp is soe lame in his hand & shoulder, as he was not able to write to yo^r Matie, for w^{ch} he beggeth yo^r Maties pardon. His Lo^p desired me to signify that he hath sent yo^r Matie y^e same individuall papers & notes w^{ch} yo^r Matie hath formerly seene, because yo^r Matie is best acquainted wth them: & he saith that y^e Bp^ricks that are voyde have a

I returne heere-
with to the B.
of London, not
onlie his noats,
but also how all
the voyde Bish:[†]
ar to bee filled

* This is a curious piece of civic history, not to be found in any of their records.

† The new-made Bishops were :

- BRISTOL. Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's,
of Jesus College, Cambridge.
- CHICHESTER. Henry King, Dean of Rochester, of Christ
Church College, Oxford.
- EXETER. Ralph Brownrigg, Prebendary of Durham,
Scholar and Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and
Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.
- NORWICH. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.
- SALISBURY. Brian Duppa, of Christ Church, Oxford, Bi-
shop of Chichester, Tutor to the Prince,
translated to Winchester.
- WORCESTER. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College,

in a noate aparte, all wth my owen hand; wherein you ar to obserue two things to him; first, that I haue altered somewhat frome my former thoughts, to satisfie the tymes, & yet I hope, that I haue not disserued my selfe, in my elections: secondly, that in filling the Bish: I haue voided 3 Deaner-ies, to witt Westminster, St. Paules, & Rochester, w^{ch} I haue not thought fitt to fill, untill my returne, because I am not yet well resoluod in anie of them; onlie I intend (if the tymes will suffer it) to giue that of West-
minster* to him that I intend it should haue been B. of Chieester.

cipher set before them; his Lo^p alsoe entreated me to acquaint yo^r Matie that ye party whome you had in yo^r thoughts for ye B^rick of Chichester desires to be spared for that place, if yo^r Matie soe please, & at yo^r returne he will acquaint yo^r Matie wth ye reason of it.

I haue told ye Queene what yo^r Matie wrote to me touching ye Collar of rubies, & by her Maties co'maund I haue sent to speake wth Sr Job Harby about that busines, whereof by my next I shall give yo^r Matie a further accompt. I shall haue a care to send in yo^r Maties name to all such Lo^{ds} (as ye Queene shall direct) not to faile to attend ye downe sitting of ye P^liamt.

The Committees of both Houses met this afternoone att a conference, they were all bare-headed during ye conference, both Lo^{lds} & Co'mons by a privat^t intima-^con, but if ye Lo^{ds} should haue put on their hatts, ye Co'mons were resoluod to haue donne soe likewise. Their conference was concerning some troopers, who flock to ye Committees in soe great numbers, as they haue agreed vpon an order to be fortwth printed for sending them away, a copy of w^{ch} order is herewth sent. Vpon let^{rs} from ye Lo. Howard, and ye rest of ye Com-[']ittees (advertising that yo^r Matie will not come from

Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, died 1650.

YORK. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, died 1650.

CARLISLE. James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, ob. 1655.

* Westminster was at present vacant in consequence of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, having been suspended by the Court of Star Chamber. John Earl was the next holder of the Deanery.

Scotl. this moneth at soonest) they have leave to come home as they desire, wth power to leave any of their company behinde them if they shall see cause. The Committee of y^e Com'ons here, upon pretence that some of their let^{trs} have miscarried, doe now send an expresse messenger wth their let^{trs} to their Comittees, & I am privatly tould that that messenger carries let^{trs} that advertise all their secret designes from y^e close counsell that have beene held here: & that he sets not forth from hence till too-morrow noone at soonest, soe as this will be wth yo^r Matie before him. I beseech God to send yo^r Matie a speedy, safe, & hob^{le} returne, & soe will euer pray,

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 5: 8^{bris}, 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 12.

“ For yo^r Sacred Matie.”

In the King's writing :

“ Yours apostyled.”

5a 8^{bris} 1641. Apostild 12o. By Sr W^m Balletine.

The QUEEN to Sir E. NICHOLAS.

Maistre Nicholas, I send you the names of the Lords that I thinke fit to be send for. You must to aduertice the Bishops to be heer, so hauing no more to say I reſte

Your assured frend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Cumberland, huntintong, bath, Northampton, Dee-

nonchier, bristoll, Newcastle, Pawlett, Couentry, Seymer, Cotintong.*

If you wood writt to bridgeman † to com and to speake to all is frends in that contray is in Lencachier and so to as manie as ar your frends: for mene others I haue spokne my selfe to them already.

“ For Maistre Nicholas.”

Indorsed, “ R. 5^o 8bris 1641, the Queenes lettr to me.”

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

Since my last of ye 7th present, I receaved yor Maties comaunds apostiled ye 2nd of this moneth, & have presented yor Maties let^r to ye Queene, whereof I have here^{wth} sent an aunsweare from her Matie, wch came this day to my hands. I have acquainted her Matie (as you were pleased to comaund) that yor Matie wished that some of yor servaunts here would meete to countermyne ye plots here, but ye Queene saith, that cannot be done in yor Maties absence. I have written let^{rs} to all such L^odds, as I have had direcons to send unto, to attend att

I confesse not so well, but yet so much as may doe much good, therefore be diligent in it.

* The preceding Peers may be easily understood, notwithstanding her Majesty's royal grant of new names; and this, which is the most Gallicised, is evidently intended for the Lord Cottington.

† This most probably was the famous Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then Master of the Court of Wards, and Attorney to the Prince of Wales; or else one of his brothers, sons of the Bishop, two of whom were married into Lancashire families.

y^e downe sitting of y^e Parliamt. Touching yo^r Maties Collar of Rubies, y^e Queene wishes that nothing be donne in it till y^e next weeke, when Sr Job Harby saith he shall receive aunswere to his le^{rs} sent into y^e Low Countries, & in y^e meane tyme I am privatly to informe myself by what warrant that iewell was put into Sr Job Harbyes or any other hands.

You shall doe well to doe so.

Yo^r Matie will herewth receive a le^{tr} from my Lo: Lieutenant of Ireland.* The insolvency & disorders of y^e disbanded souldiers in & neer this towne is soe great, as y^e Lo^{ds} of y^e Councell (who met this day at Whitehall) have thought fit that some course should be forthwth taken to disperse & send them away, & to that purpose their Lo^{pps} humbly desire to know yo^r Maties pleasure whether a proclamac'on shal be issued by y^e Lo^{ds} Com'issioners (whome yo^r Matie did authorise to set forth proclamac'ons upon certeyne occasions in yo^r Maties absence) to y^e effect of y^e inclosed printed order of y^e Com'ittees of both Houses, (whereof yo^r Matie had formerly a cobby sent); but this their Lo^{pps} intend should be without taking any notice of that order, unlesse yo^r Matie shall expressly direct that menc'on be made of it; in this partic'lar their Lo^{ps} pray yo^r Maties speedy resoluc'on & order.

I thinke it most
fit.

by anie meanes.

The principall cause y^e Lo^{ds} meeting this day in Councell was to consider of some let^{rs} from Irland concerning London Derry,† whereupon they have sent to y^e

* The Earl of Leicester—but he never went over to take possession of his Government.

† The historians of the day are silent with respect to any circumstances connected with the City, except those already alluded to.

Lo^{ds} Justices for further informac'on before they can doe any thing in it. I pray for yo^r Mat^{ies} happy dispatch of yo^r great affaires there, & safe returne for England, as being

Yo^r sacred Mat^{ies}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 9^o Octob^{re} 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 13.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Mat^{ie},

I received (by young Sr Rob: Pye *) on Satterday last yo^r Mat^{ies} com'aunds by apostile of ye 5th p^{esent}, & am much ioyed, that there is hope of yo^r Mat^{ies} returne sooner then is generally reported here, where it is confidently said (amongst ye most authentique intelligencers in Scottish affaires), that yo^r Mat^{ie} will not be here till Christmas, & I assure yo^r Mat^{ie} they give forth, as if yo^r Mat^{ie} were likely to receaue but an ill harvest of all ye paynes yo^r Mat^{ie} hath taken: But I hope ye happy conclusion of yo^r businesses there, shall now very shortly, by good effects, contradict and falsify their stories.

I humbly conceaue that it may be for yo^r Mat^{ies} honour & advantage, that ye Lo: Mayor of London wayte on yo^r Mat^{ie} att yo^r returne, that you may have thereby opportunity to shew yo^rself gra'cous to yo^r people, by speaking a short word now & then to them as you passe amongst them, to cheere & encourage them in their dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r Royall person; & therefore I be-

* Of Lockhamsted, Bucks, Baronet; but now extinct.

seech yo^r Matie, that by yo^r next I may receive yo^r pleasure, whither I shall intimat to y^e Lo. Mayor, that yo^r Matie will expect that he & his brethren attend yo^r Matie accordingly: And I humbly desire to know to whome I shall addresse let^{rs} for yo^r Matie, when you shalbe on yo^r iourney hither, for that I beleeve Mr. Thre^r will not ride soe fast as yo^r Matie. The occasion of this dispatch is y^e inclosed from my Lo: Keeper.

I doe lyke well,
that you should
doe so.

To the Duke of
Riche: (Rich-
mond.)

The Queene sent me word even now that she shall not write by this packet. We hope yo^r Maties next P^{rs} will satisfy yo^r good servaunts expectac'on here wth the desired newes of yo^r Maties happy & speedy returne, w^{ch} is y^e earnest prayer of

Yo^r Sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Thorpe: Munday 11^o 8^{bris} 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 18

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Yesterday I sent to yo^r Matie in myne a let^r from my Lo^d Keeper by packet: and this is to give yo^r Matie advisem^t, that y^e Lo^{dds} of yo^r Maties Privy Councill met here this morning, to consider of some Irishe businesses, when they agreed upon a let^r to be forthwth sent to yo^r Matie wth their Lop^s advise, for divers reasons expressed in their said let^r (a copy whereof for better expedie'on is here inclosed), to giue order to yo^r Maties Justices in Irland to prorogue y^e parliamt there (w^{ch} is to meete y^e 9th of No^{ber}) till ffbruary next: the originall under y^e Lo^{ds} hands shalbe sent to yo^r Matie as soone as

I have done this
alreddic.

it can be got signed, if yo^r Matie shall approve of their Lo^ps advise, you may be pleased for better expedic'on to send one let^r under yo^r Maties hand imediatly from E-denburg into Irland by an expresse messenger to ye Lodd^s Justices, forthwth to set forth a proclamac'on to that purpose: & another by the way of West Chester or thereabouts, leas^t y^e former should miscarry or receive delay. The Lodd^s of yo^r Maties Privy Councill here have also this day giuen order to the Justices of Peace (in & neere London) to take a course, that a more effectuall and strict order be taken for present sending away all y^e disbanded souldiers (we^{ch} still pester this city): & for shutting up of all houses infected, for that y^e sicknes disperseth very much & dangerously hereabouts.

There was this day nothing donne by the Comittees of either House worthy yo^r Maties notice. There is a strong report (spred by persons of best credit here for intelligence & knowledge of y^e proceedings in Scotl:) that yo^r Matie will not be here these 2 moneths, but what ground they have for it, I cannot learne.

I would not have
that intention
hindered, Cam-
bridge would be
best.

There is a whispering here, as if yo^r Parliam^t (when it meetes) would adiourne for some moneths, or to some other place: I tould my Lo: Keeper this day that if y^e P^liam^t should adiourne to a further day, (thoughe but for a moneth or two) before they passed y^e Bill of Tonnage & Poundage to yo^r Matie, (the same being graunted only to y^e first of Decem: next,) it would put yo^r Matie to a great streight for want of monny to uphold yo^r house, & for divers other occasions: and I humbly offer it to yo^r Maties considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for you to let my Lo: Keeper, & some other of yo^r Maties best affected servaunts of either House of P^liam^t know, what you would have them to insist upon in case

For this, I would
haue you consult
with the Keeper
& others of my
seruants what to
doe in it, leaving
it to your discre-
tions to doe as
you shall see
cause, but I
would have the
adjurnement fur-
thered by anie
meanes.

there should be any moc'on for a further adiournem^t, before yo^r Maties returne, by reason of ye sicknes, wch growes soe rife & dangerous, as will make such a moc'on willingly hearkened unto. My humble & earnest prayers shalbe still for a prosperous dispatch of yo^r affaires there, & for yo^r Maties speedy & safe returne, there being noe man so much obliged to yo^r Matie for yo^r grac'ous favour, as

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 12^o 8bris. 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 18:

Superscribed "for yo^r Sacred Matie."

Written by the King; "Yours apostyled."

Written on the back by Sir E. N.: "Sent by Mr. Mungo Murrey, and rec^d back by 'e post boy of Barbican the 23th at West^r at 9 at nyght. His Matie is constant in ye doctrine & discipline of ye Church."

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

I received yesterday yo^r Maties apostile of ye 9th p^esent by Mr. Barkley, & have (according to yo^r Maties com'and) addressed this packet to ye Duke of Richmond, & shall soe contynue my addresses, untill I shall understand of Mr. Th'ersers returne to Court. Yo^r Matie com'aunds me to advise wth some of yo^r best servaunts here, how to p^event the intenc'ons of some here to presse yo^r Matie at ye next meeting in P^liam^t for ye like Act touching ye elecc'on of officers & councillors here, as you have graunted in Scotland. I (wth all humility) assure yo^r Matie, that I conceive it no lesse difficult for me (now in

As I haave bene sufficientlie slandered heere, in some respects, so there also I heere that I haue not mist those good offices, though in an other kynde, as being resolved, at my retorne, to alter the forme of the Churche gouvernement in England to this heere: therefor I com'and you to assure all my seruants there that I am constant for the Doctrine & Discipline of the Church of England as it was established by Queene Elis. & my Father, & resolves, (by the grace of God) to liue & dey in the maintenance of it.

If your own
observation doe
not sufficiently
tell you, lett my
Wyfes direction
guyde you.

It will be well
done.

yo^r absence when y^e awe of the Parliam^t is upon all in
generall) to discern who are yo^r Maties best servaunts
here, then it is almost impossible for such yo^r servaunts,
to know what to doe or advise, to p^event soe plausible a
designe, w^{ch} in my poor opinion nothing can soe well di-
vert, as yo^r Maties speedy returne: but of this intend
forthwth to speake wth the Queene.

This inclosed is y^e let^r from y^e Lo^{dds} of yo^r Maties
Privy Counsell, whereof in my last by Mr. Mungo Mur-
rey* I sent a cobby: their Lo^{pps}, as soon as they rose
from Councell, (& before y^e let^r was drawne) dispersed
themselves to their severall homes in y^e country, w^{ch} is
y^e cause (as I am tould), that it was this day before it
was brought signed to me for yo^r Matie. The more
secrecy and expedic'on there is used in dispatch of yo^r
Maties let^r to y^e Lo^{dds} Justices (if you shall approve of
their Lo^{pps} advise) y^e better, & that made me p^esume to
hasten to yo^r Matie y^e cobby, before y^e let^r itself was

* Murrey (Mungo) was a confidential servant and gentle-
man of the bedchamber to the King, who often entrusted him
with private correspondence, an anecdote respecting which
deserves notice. In February 1646, whilst the King was in
the power of the English Commissioners at Newcastle, Mur-
rey, having obtained leave of absence on pretence of visiting
Scotland, was admitted to his Majesty's presence before wit-
nesses for the purpose of kissing his hand. The Commis-
sioners, however, were so suspicious and watchful, that they
observed something put into his hand by the King; and
having followed him, when out of the presence, they searched
him, and found a letter in cypher directed to Montreuil the
French agent. The letter was immediately sent up to the
Parliament, and Murrey committed to prison, but admitted
to bail after two days confinement.

signed. I finde that ye Com'ttees of both Houses (by reason of ye contynuaunce of ye sicknes) incline to be very earnest, when ye Parliamt meets next, to perswade a further adiournem^t for a tyme, but Mr. Pym, & those of his party, will not heare that ye P'liamt shalbe held any where but in London or Westminster: I hope yo^r Matie (if you shall stay there past ye 18th present) will send some direcc'ons to yo^r servaunts here how to apply their endeavours in P'liamt, in case there shalbe any debate touching an adiournem^t.

I have given sufficient order in all this alreddy.

I have herewth by ye Queenes com'aund sent yo^r Matie ye draught of a warrant for yo^r Maties hand for ye delivery of yo^r Maties Collar of Rubies to Sr W^m Boswell for yo^r Maties use: I tould Sr Job Harby, that Sr W^m was to kepe it till yo^r Matie should send for it. The Queene tould me yesterday, that she would write to yo^r Matie to be pleased wth yo^r owne hand to give Sr W^m Boswell order what to doe wth ye said Collar, for it is apparent, that these merchaunts dare not have a hand in the engaging of it, but they say they will take order that, upon receipt of yo^r Maties warraunt, it shalbe safely delivered accordingly.

I have syned it, & therefor see that it be immediatly sent ouer, for tell my Wyfe that I shall loose no tyme in sending to Sr Will: Boswell * as she desyres.

If yo^r Matie shall stay long from hence †, I humbly

* Boswell seems to have been an old confidential servant of the King, who mentions him as his agent in 1634, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. Vide Bromley's Letters, p. 67. He was also in the confidence of the Palatine Princes about the same time. Vide Bromley, p. 79. He was, at this period, the British Resident at the Hague, but afterwards fell into disgrace, as appears by a subsequent letter of the Queen of Bohemia.

† On this day the King wrote a letter to the Lord Keeper, desiring him to inform the Parliament that he was unavoid-

pray yo^r Matie wilbe pleased to let me understand wh^o whome you would have me to advise concerning yo^r affaires here, & that yo^r Matie would vouchsafe to let them know, how farre yo^r Matie would have them to confide in me in any yo^r Maties services, that I may have ye more credit wth them, when I shall have occasion to attend them, & be ye better able to annswere yo^r Maties expecta^on. I haue not bene att Oatlands since Mr. Berkley came, but am this morning going to wayte on ye Queene, to know if her Matie hath any com'aunds for

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & obedient seruaunt,

Thorpe; 15 8bris, 1641.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 20:

“For yo^r sacred Matie.” By the King: “Yours apostyled.”
15^o 8bris 1641. Apost: 20. R. 25^o at 9. at night.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Yo^r Maties sent by Sr W^m Ballatine * were delivered here ye 18th of this moneth by 4 in ye afternoone.

ably detained, but that he would make all diligence to return. This was read to the Lords on the 26th. Vide Parliamentary Debates.

* Afterwards Lord Ballenden, the first Peer of that name. In 1640 he appears, by Bromley's Royal Letters, pp. 115, 116, to have been attached as Minister at the Palatine Court. He was much in the confidence of all the branches of the Royal Family; and obtained the peerage from Charles the Second for his very useful and active services during the Usurpation.

I haue tould you
in my former
Dispaches.

I shall doe this.

Upon let^{rs} from y^e Englishe Co'mittees now in Scotl: to y^e Com'ittee here, relating y^e newes of Mar: Hamiltons, the Ea: of Arguiles, and Ea: of Lannericks abandoning y^e Court & Parliamt there,* our Com'ittee here was yesterday in a great fright, & (declaring that they conceived the same to be a plot of y^e Papists there, & of some Lo^{dds} & others here,) sent p^{esent} order to y^e Lo: Mayor &c. to dubble y^e gardes & watches of this City & Suborbs, & it is thought that this busines will this day in Parliament be declared to be a greater plot against the Kingdomes and Parliamt^s in Eng: & Scotl: then hath bene discovered at all. There have bene some well-affected parliamt-men here wth me this morning to know

I was the lesse carefull to send a perfect relation of this business, because I sent one of whose discretion & knowledg I was & am so confident, that I thought his discourse of the business as hauing bene an ey witness would haue satisfied more then anie written relation, therefore I desyre you to call on him in my name to satisfie well affected persons, of the treuth of that w^{ch} passed while he was heere; &, for what hath passed since, I haue directed the D: of Rich: to giue you such an account as there is.

* This is the affair which, in the history of that time, went by the name of "The Incident." Lord Lanerick's relation of it may be seen in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. II. p. 299, wherein he asserts that there was a plan laid, by the opposite party, to cut the throats of himself and the two Lords mentioned in this letter; and he adds, that their "abandoning the Court and Parliament" was literally nothing more than quitting Edinburgh in order to save their lives.

There is an hiatus in the Hardwicke Papers from 1641 to 1685. His Lordship, in a note on Lord Lanerick's relation, laments that very little is known respecting a dark affair "which nobody understood at the time," particularly as the Hamilton Collection seems very defective at that period. These present Letters, however, may avail the future historian in clearing up difficulties and in prosecuting research.

The affair is particularly noticed in Pym's Report of the Committees, on the re-opening of Parliament, which may be referred to in vol. X. of the Parliamentary History, page 5.

whether I had any relac'on of that busines, but finding I had none, but only a few words from Mr. Sec'rie Vane, w^{ch} I shewed to them, they seemed much troubled, as not knowing what to say to it: I hasten this of purpose to give yo^r Matie notice hereof, & to pray yo^r Matie, that there may be sent hither wth all possible dilligence a full & p'fect relac'on of y^e present disturbance there, & the cause & grounds thereof, & what upon exa'iac'on it appeares to that parliam^t to be: all w^{ch}, I humbly wishe may be certefyed hither in as authentique a way,* & from as vnsuspected a hand as may be.

It is now under examination, w^{ch} as soone as it (is) ended you shall be sure to haue.

If Mr. Secr'ie Vane had written to me, or any of his friends here, a true narrac'on of that busines, it would have given much satisfacc'on here, and stopped the causles alarmes that are taken vpon y^e noyse of it, that busines being now by y^e relac'on of diverse Scotsmen here made much worse, then I beleeve it will proove in y^e end.

The Queene tould me yesterday that she will wryte to yo^r Matie this night or too morrow, but I thought it not fitt to deferre this packet now for her Maties let^r, which shalbe hastened away as soone as Ishall receive it. The inclosed from Sr Art: Hopton,† I receaved from my Lo: Cottington wth direcc'on to send it to yo^r Matie.

* The Parliament met this day; the first time after the recess.

† He was uncle to Sir Ralph Hopton, the famous Royalist General; and, when the latter was created Lord Hopton, Sir Arthur was named heir in remainder, in default of issue male; but dying before his nephew, he never enjoyed those honours. He was of a Somersetshire family, the Hoptons of Wytham.

Yor Matie will I hope pardon this hasty expression of the humble diligence of

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this, I received for yor Matie this let^r from my Lo: Marshall.

Written by the King :

“ Those of yours, wch I returne not to you apostyled, I alwais burne.”

Westminster, 20: 8bris 1641.

Eden. 24.

“ For yor sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

20. 8bris 1641. Apost. 24^o 8bris.

R. 30 at 7 at night at Thorpe. Rec. of Capt. Smith.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I hope my let^r, wch I hastily wrote to yor Matie yesterday by packet, wilbe come to yor Royall hands before this, & that wee shall speedily receaue a relac'on of this busines concerning the Marquis & ye rest, wch all yor servaunts here call for very earnestly.

Yor Maties let^r to my Lo: Keeper was carefully delivered to his owne hands yesterday before ye sitting of ye Parliamt, but his Lopp tells me, that ye effect of it was knowne here some dayes before he received it: wch is an infinite peiudice to yor Maties affaires here; such anticipation of yor Maties direcc'ons in businesses of importance renders ye same impossible, or extreame difficult, to be effected: And I observe that ye perfect intelligence,

Of this I much wonder, for on my credit I acquainted nobodie with the contents thereof, & am verie confident that none heere knew whether I writt to him or not: therefor I thinke it fitt that you

should try as much as may be how this is come, & whether it be an intelligence or conjectur.

Before this, that is satisfied.

I remember that I had some discourse wth the Eng: Par: men about Prorogation, but I'm confident that it was efter my Lett: was written, if it were serius, all others wer in consequence of the Plague at randome.

that is here of all yo^r Maties resoluc'ons & proceedings there, puts lief and spiritt into some here, who wthout that encouragem' & light, would (I beleeve) pay more reverence to yo^r Maties counsell and acc'ons.

When yo^r Matie hath made stay y^e disbanding of 5 companies remayning in Barwick,* it is here thought fit not to make any order to y^e contrary, but it is declared (as I heare) that from y^e 15th of this moneth (w^{ch} was y^e tyme appoynted by y^e Houses for disbanding all that garrison) those companies shall have no further pay from y^e Comonwealth as it is called, and concerning this, there is to be speedily a conference wth y^e Lo^{dds}, wth y^e issue whereof I shall acquaint yo^r Matie by my next.

Sir Jo. Berkley was yesterday com'itted to y^e Tower, & Capt. O'Neale to y^e Gatehouse by y^e House of Co'mons vpon y^e old business.† Yo^r Matie will herewth receive a copy of y^e let^r sent hither by y^e Com'ittees in Scotland, and of y^e order made thereupon y^e day before y^e P'liamt by y^e Com'ittees here. I have p^{re}sented yo^r Maties let^r to y^e BPP of London, who hath promised to use all possible expedie'on in p'formaunce of yo^r Maties comaunds therein.

The Lo^{dds} Commissioners have given order for p^{re}paring a Proclamac'on for p^{re}sent dispersing & sending

* The jealousy of the Parliament about Berwick was so very great, that when the Scottish Army, upon their return in August, wished to march through that garrison, a wooden bridge was actually ordered to be built over the Tweed, at some distance from the town.

† It was also ordered, the Lords should be desired to examine those gentlemen respecting the charges brought against them.

away of y^e disbanded souldiers,* as yo^r Matie directed by yo^r apostile of the 13th of this moneth. My Lo: Keeper delivered me this morning to be sent to yo^r Matie this paper, w^{ch} was p^esented to his Lo^p in y^e nature of a protestac'on by y^e persons therein vndernamed: his Lo^{pp} tells me he hath formerly acquainted yo^r Matie wth that busines. My Lo: of Bristoll† tould me this day, that he heares from severall hands, that there is an intenc'on to question his Lo^p, & his sonne y^e Lo: Digby, but he knowes not for what, & he tells me that nothing shall deterre him from p'formaunce of his duty. This day there was twice read in y^e Com'ons House a Bill for taking away the Votes of BPPs in y^e Vpper House, and that Bill is comitted, and it is said it will passe both Houses wthin two days. The disobedience against y^e order of y^e House of Co'mons concerning innovac'ons, was this day questioned in that House, & after a long debate, there was no way found or resolved on, to punishe those that disobeyed y^e same, for that that order was conceived

For diversion of this & other mischeefes, I would ye should put Bristo in mynde to renew that dispute betwixt the two Houses, concerning the Parliament Protestation w^{ch} Southampton was so fearse upon.

* May, in his History of the Parliament, says that both the armies, English and Scotch, "quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by order from Justices of Peace through the several counties."

† The Earl of Bristol had mingled much in party politics previous to this date. He had been Ambassador to Spain in proposing Charles's marriage with the Infanta; and afterwards impeached in Parliament respecting the treaty and its failure; but he had such influence with the House of Commons as to bring about a counter impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham. This may account for his hostility to Charles's friend, Lord Strafford, though the prospect of rebellion now induced him to support the Royal Cause. Vide Bulstrode, page 14.

by most in y^t House not to be iustifyable by lawe, & therefore not binding.*

In this, I hope, this dispache will satisfie your longins, but I beleive, not some of your expectations.

I have herewth sent yo^r Matie some notes of y^e effect of y^e conference this day betweene y^e 2 Houses. I beseech God amongst those great distracc'ons to p^eserve yo^r Matie in safety: & I beseech yo^r Matie to give me leave once more to put you in minde to hasten hither a true relac'on of y^e vnhappy interrupc'on of yo^r affaires there, for I find, that yo^r servaunts here are much disheartened that they are kept soe long in darknes in a busines soe highly importing yo^r hon^r, & yo^r Maties owne person. I expected a let^r from y^e Queene for yo^r Matie this day, but I beleive her Matie pu'poses to send her let^{rs} by an expresse; for that there are none come from her Matie as yet to be conveyed by

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most

obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 21^o 8bris 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 28:

“ For yo^r sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

Apost: 28 8bris.—R. 1^o Nobris. at 5 at night, by Mr. Wm. Murray.

* None of these circumstances are stated in the Parliamentary History; yet they are important with respect to the annals of those times.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

I received Satterday night last yo^r Maties of ye 18th p^esent, & have safely delivered yo^r Maties to ye Queene & my Lo: Keeper: the messenger that was sent wth yo^r Maties said P^{ter}, (bruysing himself wth a fall from his horse soe as he was not able to ride) sent yo^r Maties to me single by ye ordinary post, w^{ch} made me suspect that it had bene intercepted, but it came very safe. I have alreddy made known to diverse Lo^{dds} & others yo^r Maties pious resoluc'on to mainteyne constantly ye doctrine & disciplyne of ye Church of England, & have by their advise delivered extracts (of what yo^r Matie hath written) to diverse of yo^r Maties servaunts, that yo^r piety therein may be vnderstood by yo^r good people here.

The Queene sent Sr W^m Ballatine from hence on Friday last, & he going im'ediatly from Oatlands wthout calling here, I lost ye opportunity of sending by him, but I p^epared my P^{ter} of ye 23th reddy for him, w^{ch} I have now sent by this gent. Mr. Tho. Elliot.

Wee here begin to app^ehend that in ye great troubles there, some of yo^r Maties packets may miscarry, & therefore I held it my duty to let yo^r Matie vnderstand, that since myne of ye 12th (w^{ch} yo^r Matie hath return'd) I have sent to yo^r Matie let^{rs} of ye 15th & 18th, both w^{ch} were addressed in packets to ye D. of Richmond, & afterwards 2 other packets of ye 20th & 21th directed to Mr. Th'rer.

I haue receaued
them all

& thease also.

As concerning ye adiournem^t of ye P^{liam}t here, my Lo: Keeper tells me, that he hath, by his P^{ter} sent in myne of ye 21th fully acquainted yo^r Matie how ye expectac'on was here frustrated. The Vpper House did Sat-

It is trew.

Bid my seruants
make as much
vse of this ob-
jection as may
bee.

terdy last reade y^e Bill transmitted to them by y^e Comons, for taking away y^e votes of B^{ps}, & intend (as I heare) to speede it as fast as may be, notwthstanding it is said to be against y^e auintient order of P^{liam}^t to bring in a Bill againe the same Sessions, that it was reiectet.* Yo^r Maties best seruaunts here remayne still in great payne, that in all this tyme they have not receaved any p^efect relac^on of y^e late disorders at Edinb: concerning Mar: Hamilton & y^e rest, & they are the more impatient, in regarde they heare that some of y^e Com^ons house have coppinges of y^e examinac^ons taken in that busines, & other aduertisem^{ts} touching y^e same. I beseech God to send yo^r Matie forth of that laberinth of troubles there, & a safe & hob^{le} returne for Engl: w^{ch} willbe most welcome to all honnest men here, and to none more then to

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble and most obedient seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 25^o 8^{bris} 1641.

Eden. 30.

Written by the King :

“I hope this ill newes of Ireland † may hinder some of theas follies in England.”

“ For yo^r sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

25^o 8^{bris} 1641. Apost. 30 8^{bris}.

Rec. 4^o No^{bris} in y^e morning.

* The Lords, however, did not proceed so far, until, on the 22d of October, the House of Commons sent up Mr. Holles “ to put them in mind of their complaint exhibited against the thirteen Bishops who made the last new Canons, and to pray a speedy proceeding therein.”

† This is a verification of the old proverb, that “ Ill news

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

I sent to yo^r Matie y^e 25th of this p^esent 2. let^{rs} by Mr. Elliot,* & y^e same night I received yo^r Maties apostyle of y^e 20th, and p^esently sent away yo^r Maties to y^e Queene, & delivered that to my Lo: Keeper. I shall forthwth deliver yo^r Maties warr^t to Sr Job Harby, & hasten y^e dispatch of that busines.

I have herein sent yo^r Matie a copy of an order made by the Peers concerning y^e jurisdic[']con of y^e Archbp. of Cant. In this packet there is sent to yo^r

Hen. Vane will
returne all those
syned by mee
wth this Packe
to my L: of Lon:

travels fast; for the Irish Rebellion broke out on the 25th of October, and the King's memorandum, or apostyle, is dated the 30th. The return of the letter to Sir Edward, on the 4th of November, is a further proof of the rapidity of traveling at that period between Edinburgh and London.

The King's opinion respecting the interference of Parliament in Irish affairs, may be drawn from an anecdote preserved in an old tract in the British Museum; when in conversation with the Earl of Pembroke, in March 1641, his Majesty said, "The businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in; four hundred will never do that work; it must be put in the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a beggar myself, yet (speaking with a strong asseveration) I can find moneye for that."

* This is the same person to whom, in 1642, the Lord Keeper Lyttelton delivered the Great Seal, when the King sent him for it. Lyttelton, terrified at what he had done, fled immediately afterwards to join the King at York. May states him to have been "a young gentleman, and Groom of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty."

Matie by my Lo^d. of London severall Bills for yo^r Maties signature for y^e new Bps, wth a l^{tr} from his Lo^p touching that busines.

There is still kept here a strict garde & watch about y^e Parliamt houses of 100. of y^e trayned bands, besides diverse other watchmen : y^e p^etence is an app^ehension of some conspiracy of y^e Papists against y^e P^liamt here, answerable to that against some Lo^{ds} in Scotl: & y^e alarme of popishe plots amuse and fright y^e people here, more then any thing, & therefore that is y^e drum that is soe frequently beaten uppon all occasions ; & y^e noyse of an intenc'on to introduce Popery was that w^{ch} first brought into dislike wth the people y^e go-vernemēt both of y^e Church and Comonwealth. I have not bene sparing to make knowne yo^r Maties pious resoluc'on to mainteyne y^e doctrine & disciplyne of the Church of Engl: w^{ch} I perceave gives very good satisfac'on.

I comand you to speake with the Keeper & my L: Bankes to see if it can bee warranted by anie reule or president that the Vpper House may chuse there Speaker.

My Lo: Keeper having occasion to wayte on y^e Queene this day, did yesterday move y^e House for leave, & tould their Lo^{ps} that my Lo: Bankes had a co'misson dormant to be Speaker in his absence, but y^e Lo^{ds} said they would chuse their owne Speaker, & soe named y^e Lo. P. Seale,* whereupon my Lo. Keeper said he would (to avoide all question) rather stay, but y^e Lo^{ds} pressed him not to forbear his journey, least y^e Queene might take it ill, & soe his Lo^p goes this day to Oatlands, & y^e Lo. P. Seale is to be Speaker in his absence.

Judge Berkley † was yesterday att y^e bar in y^e Vpper

* Henry Earl of Manchester.

† He was Justice of the King's Bench ; was committed to the Tower by the Lords on a charge of high treason, and

House, & there heard his charge read, to w^{ch} he pleaded not guilty, & made a prudent answear; whereupon tyme is given him till Tuesday next to produce witnesses concerning soe much of his charge as relates to misdemeanors. The House of Com'ons did yesterday by vote declare, that y^e 13 Bishops, * (who are questioned for making y^e new cannons,) ought not to haue vote in y^e Lo^{ds} House in any busines: & they are this day to have a conference wth y^e Lo^{ds} thereupon, & also touching y^e excluding of all y^e Bps from voting in y^e Bill (w^{ch} is passed y^e Com'ons House) to take away totally y^e Bps votes.† All yo^r Maties best servaunts here pray for yo^r Maties speedy & happy dispatch of affaires there, con-

You shall doe well to put the B. of Lincolne in mynde concerning the pardon I thought fitt those 13 Bps. should haue for a pre-munire, that you may giue order to the Atur: for it in my name if he shall thinke it fitt.

afterwards fined in the sum of £20,000, besides being declared incapable of all further administration of justice.

* These were Walter Carle, Bishop of Winchester; Robert Wright, B. Coventry and Lichfield; Godfrey Goodman, B. Gloucester; Joseph Hall, B. Exeter; John Owen, B. St. Asaph; William Piers, B. Bath and Wells; George Cook, B. Hereford; Matthew Wren, B. Ely; William Roberts, B. Bangor; Robert Skinner, B. Bristol; John Warner, B. Rochester; John Towers, B. Peterborough; Morgan Owen, B. Landaff.

† The Bill went further than Sir Edward reports, for it included "Bishops and other persons in holy orders." It was to shut them not only out of Parliament, but also from the Privy Council, the Commission of the Peace, "or execute any temporal authority, by virtue of any commission."

Even the vulgar wit of the day was brought forward in contempt of the Church; and a pamphlet was industriously disseminated, under the title of, "Lord Bishops none of the Lord's Bishops."

ceaving yo^r p^esence would be of very much advantage to yo^r services here, & this is also y^e earnest prayer of

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Westminster, 27^o 8bris, 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 2: No:

By the King :

“ I co'mande you to direct my L: Keeper in my name to issew out a Proclamac'on co'manding all Parliament Men to attend on the Parliament.

“ Thanke Southampton in my name, for stopping the Bill against the Bishops : &, that at my co'ming, I will doe it myselfe.”

“ For yo^r sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

27 8bris Apost. 20. 9bris.—R. 6^o 9bris 1641 at 6. at night.
by Mr. Bruncker.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

My last to yo^r Matie was of y^e 27th p^esent, w^{ch} I sent by packet addressed to Mr. Th'rer. Yo^r Maties long absence encourages some to talke in Parliam^t of highe matters. It was yesterday in debate in y^e Com'ons House, that y^e Parliam^t may have the approbac'on of all officers, councellors, amb'dors, and ministers, and yo^r Matie y^e nominac'on.* The reasons alleaged for it were,

* A most extraordinary speech was made on this occasion by “ Master Smith, of the Inner Temple,” which he has done posterity the favour to publish. In one part he observes :

first that it had bene soe heretofore, & soe is conceived to be an auntient right: 2^{ly} that y^e ill effects that have bene by y^e councells & acc'ons of olde officers, councillors, &c. & y^e feares that there may be y^e like by the new; will make all that hath bene hitherto donne nothing, if this may not be graunted to secure them, whereby the kingdome may be as well p^eserved as purged. 3^{dly} that yo^r Matie did heare partie'lar & privat mens advise in y^e choyce of yo^r offrs, councillors, &c. & therefore it can be noe derogac'on for yo^r Matie to take therein y^e advise of y^e P^lliament. Some said that untill such things as these shalbe granted they cannot wth a good consyence supply yo^r Maties necessities: after a long debate this busines was at length referred to a Select Com'ittee to p^epare forthwth heads for a pet^{on} to be p^esented to yo^r Matie to receive the P^liamts approbac'on of such officers, councillors, &c. as yo^r Matie shall choose, for better p^evenec'on of y^e great & many mischeifs that may befall y^e Comonwealth by y^e choyce of ill councillors, officers, amb'dors & ministers of state, w^{ch} pet^{on} is to be ripened wth all speede & to be p^esented to y^e House: there appeared soe many in y^e Com'ons House

“ Prerogative and Liberty are both necessary to this kingdom; and, like the sun and moon, give a lustre to this benighted nation, so long as they walk at equal distances; but when one of them shall venture into the other's orb, like those planets in conjunction, they then cause a deeper eclipse.” He then concludes a string of uncouth metaphors by assuring the House that it was necessary “ so to provide that the Mæcenas's of the times may not, like great jacks in a pool, devour their inferiors, and make poverty a pavement for themselves to trample on.”

against this busines, that some conceive that there wilbe noe further proceeding in it, but I doubt it: howsoever I may not forbear to let yo^r Matie know, that the Lo: ffalkland, Sr Jo. Strangwishe,* Mr. Waller, Mr. Ed. Hide, & Mr. Holborne, & diverse others stood as Champions in maynten'nce of yo^r Prerogative, and shewed for it unanswerable reason & undenyable p^ecedents, whereof yo^r Matie shall doe well to take some notice (as yo^r Matie shall thinke best) for their encouragm't.

The Com'ons House having gotten notice of y^e new Bpps† that are now making, some did mervale that any man should move yo^r Matie for making of Bps in these tymes, when it is well knowne how great complaints are against them in generall, & some would have had a pet^{on} or message to be sent to pray yo^r Matie to be pleased to stay

I co'mande you to doe it in my name, telling them that I will doe it my selfe at my returne.

On the contraire I command you to take order that these Billes bee expedited that they may with all possible diligence attend the Parlemt.

* Sir John Strangeways, knt. of Melbury Sampford, Dorsetshire.

† The superstitious feeling respecting political events at that period is curiously exemplified by a contemporary Writer, speaking of the occurrences immediately after Charles's return :

“ It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busie citizen must needs cry, ‘ No Bishops !’ Some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve, else, it seemes, with blowes ; what passed on either side in words none but themselves knew ; the citizen, being more tongue than souldier, was wounded, and I have heard dyed of his wounds receaved at that tyme ; it hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late King's head was cut off, the Scaffold standing just over that place.”

y^e constituting of any more B^{ps} till y^e busines concerning Episcopacy shalbe determyned: but this moc'on was not resented in y^e House, & soe y^e discourse thereof fell.*

There was yesterday a great debate in y^e Upper House about y^e Bill for taking away y^e B^{ps} votes, & it was very doubtfull, after a long dispute, w^{ch} side was likeliest to carry itt, but att length both sides agreed to put off y^e further debate thereof till y^e 10th of Nov^r next, before w^{ch} tyme it wilbe tryed, of what vallydity y^e impeachmt against y^e 13 B^{ps} will prove to be.

The considerac'on of these partic'lar passages may be sufficyent to move yo^r Mat^{ie} to hasten yo^r returne, & I shall take y^e boldnes to ad to it one more, w^{ch} I observed at y^e Councell Borde, when Marq: Hertford † moved y^e Lo^{dds} (upon occasion of these words in Mr. Th'rers let^{tr} to me, viz. that he did hope y^e P'liamt of Engl. would interpose & hasten yo^r Mat^{ies} returne) to consider whether it might not be fit to move y^e P'liamt here to that purpose; most of y^e rest of y^e Lo^{dds} of y^e Councle declyned it, in regarde y^e let^r was not written to y^e Boorde but to me, & that Mr. Th'rer left it to my choyce whether to acquaint them wth it or noe; whereby I observe that every one of yo^r Mat^{ies} Pr. Councle is not fond of yo^r speedy returne hither. Yo^r Mat^{ie} can best make iudgm^t by there carriages how much it imports you to hasten hither.

* The Parliamentary History asserts that the motion for a conference with the Lords, for the purpose of drawing up a petition on this subject, was carried, on a division, by 71 to 53.

† Hertford, at this period, was Governor to the Prince of Wales. This branch of the Seymours became extinct in 1675.

I have delivered yo^r Maties warraunt concerning yo^r Collar of Rubies, and am promised that this weeke order shalbe sent into y^e Low Countries for delivery of y^e same accordingly wth all dilligence possible. The Queene toulde me on Wensday last, that she would send an expresse to yo^r Matie wthin a few dayes, w^{ch} I beleeve she hath donne by this tyme. This from my Lo. Keeper was delivered to me for yo^r Matie this afternoone.

I assure yo^r Matie I have bene warn'd by some of my best friends to be wary what I wryte to yo^r Matie, for that there are many eyes upon me both here & in Scotl. & that p'trs that come to yo^r Royall hands doe after oft miscarry & come to others view: albeit this shall not deterre me from p'formaunce of my duty in advertising yo^t Matie of all things that shall occurre to my knowledge of certeynty, importing yo^r Maties service, yet I humbly beseech yo^r Matie to vouchsafe to keepe to yo^r-self what I take y^e freedome to imparte, least, in these tymes, that may be rendred to be treason in me, w^{ch} I humbly conceave to be y^e duty of,

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 29^o 8^{bris} 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 6 Nov.

Apost. 6^o 9^{bris}.—Red 11^o 9^{bris} by Mr. Tho. Killegrew.*

It is a Ley.

I shall.

I receaved this on Wednesday last. When ye deliver this inclosed to my Wyfe, desyre her not to open it but when she is alone.

* This is the gentleman of facetious memory, who is generally known only as the Court buffoon of the succeeding reign, but who had other claims, not generally understood, upon the Royal notice.—At this period he was, or had been, page to Charles the First; and was afterwards an attendant upon Charles the Second during his exile. Some allusions are made to him in subsequent letters; particularly where the

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excell^t Matie,

The 29th of ye last moneth I sent yo^r Matie a ltr in a packet adressed to Mr. Th'rer, & on Satterday last about 7 at night I receaued by Capt. Smith * yo^r Maties co'maunds apostiled 24^o 8bris, & according to yo^r Maties co'maunds I gave him yo^r Maties ltr to p^esent it to ye Queene. The relac'ons w^{ch} are here made by any that come from thence, are (for ye most p^{te}) varied & reported afterward by others according to ye sence and affec'on of each several audito^{rs}, & soe become very uncertaine, & some are apt to credit & report ye worst of businesses, & to silence what they like not, wherefore I humbly conueave, that a relac'on written by a good & unsuspected hand, would not only gayne best beliefe, but be lesse

Queen of Bohemia solicits a commission for him. His family was also, in some degree, connected with the Royal family, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Sir William Killgrew, with Frederic of Zulestein, an illegitimate son of Henry Prince of Orange.

* This Captain Smith displayed great courage, as well as loyalty, in the King's service. In the battle of Edgehill, on the 22d of October, 1642, when Sir Edward Verney, the Royal Standard Bearer, was killed, and the standard taken, Smith rushed amidst the enemy and retook it, for which he was instantly made a knight banneret, and received soon after a large gold medal, "with the King's picture on the one side, and the banner on the other, which he always wore to his dying day, in a large green watered ribband, cross his shoulders." He fell, two years afterwards, at Cheriton fight, sometimes called the battle of Alresford.

subject to mistakes & misreports : & I hope when y^e examinac'ons of y^e late disturbances there shalbe published, y^e same will cleere all doubts, & giue honnest men full satisfac'on. I have shewen y^e Queene & some Lodd^s the copy of Marq: Hamiltons 2. and 3^d ltr^s to yo^r Matie, whereby he begs yo^r Maties pardon, w^{ch} argues he is not soe faultlesse, & innocent, as we would here render him. I humbly thanke yo^r Matie that you have bene soe carefull of yo^r faithfull servaunt, as to burne all such of my ltr^s, as you returne not to me apostiled, w^{ch} soe much concernes my safety, as I assure your Matie, I have bene warned by some of my best freinds both there and here, to be wary in my advertisem^{ts}, least being too good a servaunt (these are their very words) doe me hurt.

I have, inclosed, sent yo^r Matie y^e copy of an order* of y^e Parliam^t concerning their abundant care of y^e Princes highnes safety and education, the reasons thereof

* A conference took place on this subject between the two Houses, wherein it was urged that the Prince had recently been often at the Queen's residence at Oatlands; and though the Commons did not doubt the motherly affection and care of her Majesty towards him, yet there were some dangerous persons at Oatlands, Jesuits and others, and therefore it was desired that the Marquis of Hertford should be enjoined to take the Prince into his custody and charge, attending upon him in person, and also that the Prince would make his ordinary abode and residence at his own house at Richmond. To this it was added, that Lord Hertford should place some person about the Prince to be answerable to both Houses; so that, in fact, the Prince would have been a complete prisoner! When the message was sent to the Queen, she answered, that the Prince was celebrating his Sister's birthday.

were delivered at Oatlands by my Lo. of Holland * to ye Queene, who (I heare) gave a very wise and discrete answere to ye same, as (I beleeve) her owne pen will very speedily acquaint yo^r Matie.

It is said there is a new designe discovered of a later intenc'on then Mr. Percyes † to have debauched ye late

* Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland (and second son of the Earl of Warwick), so created by James the First, in 1624. He is recorded in the "Loyal Martyrologie" by Winstanley, as a special favourite of Charles in the early part of his reign, being then Governor of Windsor Castle; yet, after that date, says Winstanley, "when the Long Parliament began to sit, and religion became the bone of contention, he sided with them; but afterwards perceiving that they made religion only a cloak to cover their rebellion, he deserted them, and took up armes for the Royal interest." Being defeated and taken prisoner, he suffered on the same scaffold with the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel, on the 9th of March, 1648. In the charge of his siding with the Parliament, Winstanley goes further than Dugdale, and those writers who copy from him; the latter asserting only that the favours heaped on Holland by Charles, made that Earl so fearful of the Parliament's enmity as to induce him not only to stand neutral himself, but also to persuade the Earl of Essex, his near kinsman, and Lord Chamberlain, to desert his Royal Master when forced to fly from Whitehall. De Larrey, a French historian, says of him that he possessed greater genius than his brother, Lord Warwick, who was "a person of an agreeable wit, perhaps a little too much libertine, but knew very well how to dissemble, and imposed on the people by an affected devotion, and going regularly to sermons."

† This passage shews clearly that there were two distinct plots, or so called conspiracies; though some writers have

Army, but what it is I cannot learne. My Lo. Keeper sent to me this day to acquaint yo^r Matie, that y^e p^esent new Lo. Mayor lately sworne (named Rich. Gurney), being not in y^e com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London & liberties, it wilbe necessary that y^t comiss'on be reⁿewed & his Lo^p put into it, w^{ch} may soone be donne, if yo^r Matie please to signify yo^r pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to that purpose. The B^p of Chichester humbly desires yo^r Maties licence to be absent from P^liam^t, fo^r w^{ch} pu^pose I have (at his Lo^ps request) herein sent a warr^t for yo^r Maties signature, if you shall think fitt to signe it. It was ordered on Friday last by y^e Com'ons that there should be heads p^epared for a conference concerning a pet^{on} to be sent to yo^r Matie to stay y^e making of y^e new B^pps, but this hath not hitherto beene proceeded in any further, and some thinke it wilbe let fall.

There is newes come to my Lo. Lieutenn't of Ireland of a rebellion in y^e north of that kingdome, rayسد (as it is said) by Papistes, whereof one Macguire * is one of y^e chiefest; I have not scene y^e let^r concerning it, but y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Maties Privy Councell sate yesterday (when I was at Oatlands) in close Councell about it, & this day they were wth y^e House of Com'ons to advise concerning it as I heare: I beleve yo^r Matie hath before this receaved advertisem^t of y^e certeynty of this busines out of Ireland, & I doubt not but y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Privy Coun-

asserted the contrary, respecting the accusations brought forward against Percy, Waller, O'Neale, &c.

* He was brother to the Lord Macguire, who was afterwards tried by order of the Parliament, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, notwithstanding he pleaded his Irish Peerage.

Doe you it in
my name.

I have syned it,
but I will not
have you to
make use of it
but as my Wyfe
shall direct you.

cell here, or my Lo. Lieutenant, will forthwth give yo^r Matie an account, what they have advised upon herein: if their Lopp^s doe it not speedily, I shall write further of it, as soone as I may see ye l^{ter} or know some certeynty of it, being unwilling to trouble yo^r Matie in an affayre of that nature, but upon good grounds, & knowledge of p[']tic[']lars.

If yo^r Matie could settle yo^r affaires well there, soe as yo^u might be here ye next weeke, yo^r best servaunts here conceive it would then be in yo^r Maties power, by yo^r presence, to bring this P[']liam^t to a reasonable good conclusion, w^{ch} that it may be soe, is & shalbe ever ye earnest prayer of,

I hope this next weeke will put an end to this Parliament, so that ye may expect me by the 20: of this monthe.

Y^r sacred Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, Munday 1^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden: Saterdag: 6.

“ For yo^r Sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

Apost: 6: 9^{bris}.—Rec^d 11^o 9^{bris}. by Mr. Tho; Killegrew.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Since my l^{tr} sent yesterday by Mr. Barclay, I have received by Mr. W^m Murray yo^r Mat^s com[']aunds by apostile of ye 28th of Octob^r & have delivered yo^r Maties to my Lo. Keeper, together wth a packet from Mr. Th[']rer, conteyning ye exa[']iac[']ons of ye busines touching Marq. Hamilton, &c. All w^{ch} were this morning read

at y^e Councell Boorde, whereupon their Lo^{ps} resolved for y^e p^esent to make knowne in the generall, that they had received a faire dispatch concerning that busines, & that it was like to have a speedy, & quyet conclusion; & their Lo^{ps}, being then to goe to y^e Parliamt^t House about y^e Irishe busines, sealed upp y^e examinac'ons, & appointed too morrow in the afternoone to consider further of y^e same, & to advise in what manner to acquaint y^e Parliamt^t therewth. I heare that my Lo. Lieuten'nt of Ireland hath by a dispatch this morning sent yo^r Ma^{tie} an accompt of all y^e partic'lars touching y^e Rebellion in that kingdome,* w^{ch} y^e Parliamt^t here takes to hart, & there is a Com'ittee of 12 Lo^{ds} together wth some of y^e House of Com'ons appointed this evening to goe into London to treat wth y^e Lo. Mayor, Aldermen & Com'on Councell to borrow 50 m. l. to be forthwth sent into Irland, to pay & encourage y^e old Army & alsoe such new souldiers as are there lately taken up to make head to y^e Rebels, for w^{ch} somes y^e Citty is to be secured by Act of Parliamt^t, both for principall & interest.

It is said that one Owen Conelles † (a servaunt of Sr

* In vol. VI. of Somers' Tracts, page 378, is the Report of the Lord Keeper to the House of Commons on the 1st of November, 1641; drawn up from the dispatches of the Lords Justices to the Lord Deputy, who was then in England.

† Conally's (Conelles) discovery arose from some accidental conversation, in a tavern, with Hugh Macmahon, grandson to the "Great Earl of Tyrone," on the night before the intended seizure of Dublin Castle by the conspirators, and which was to have been followed by a general attempt upon all the fortresses in Ireland. Burton says that

Jo. Clotworthies) for making ye first discovery of ye Rebellion, & for some services donne against it, shalbe rewarded by ye P^{liam}^t wth ye gift of 500^{li} presently, & be recommended to yo^r Matie for a penc'on of 200^l. There is a Com'ittee of ye Peers appointed to peruse all l^{trs} that are come out of Irland, to consider of ye p^{esent} state of Irland, & to further examyne Owen Conelles touching that Rebellion upon interrogatories to be exhibited by ye Comons, who are to be p^{esent} at ye examinae'on,* & ye same Committee is further to consider of ye

both the gift and the annuity were voted to him by the Parliament, on the recommendation of the Lords Justices. He was also recommended to preferment. His master, Clotworthy, in 1640, was the seconder of Pym's first motion against the Earl of Strafford; he was also one of the great supporters of the self-denying Ordinance, yet he was loudly charged by the Army with defrauding the public purse of £40,000.

* It would be superfluous in this place to enter into all the charges against the King, as the instigator of the Irish Rebellion; but their general futility cannot be better evinced than in a charge brought forward by one of his bitterest enemies: "I know he obliterated with his own hands the word *Irish Rebels*, and put in *Irish subjects*, in a manuscript discourse, writ by Sir Edward Walker," &c. The same writer accuses him of being so "tender hearted of the Irish, as not to suffer above forty proclamations to issue out against the rebels in Ireland." — Grebner's *Astrology*, p. 105.

May, in his *History of the Parliament*, p. 89, nearly repeats the same story, but says that the King ordered that no more than forty copies of the Proclamation should be issued.

Recusants in Engl: that are of estate & quality & not convicted: the Lo. Lieut^t of Irland is desired by y^e Parliamt (as I heare) to get together some Capt^{ts} and Off^{ers} here of Englishe to send over forthwth into Irland, & his Lo^p himself is pressed to hasten over wth all possible dilligence. This day father Phelipps (one of y^e Queenes priestes) was com'itted by y^e Lo^{ds} of Parliamt for refusing to be sworne vpon y^e Bible, saying it was a false translac'on.* There is to be too morrow a conference between y^e 2 Houses, vpon severall heads; 1. touching y^e dissolving of y^e Covent of Capuchins; 2. about y^e list of y^e Queenes priests; 3^{ly}. about a list of y^e Princes servaunts, to y^e end that such as are suspected in religion or otherwise may be removed; 4^{ly}. about y^e governm^t of y^e Isle of Weight, that y^e same may be sequestred.† If y^e Houses of Parliament were full it is

* On the preceding day several resolutions had passed the Commons respecting the Capuchin House in the Strand; and ordering that the Foreign Ambassadors should be sent to, to deliver up such priests as were the King's subjects, then in their houses. Phillips was brought before the House as an evidence, upon the business of Benson, the member for Knaresborough, selling protections; and first refused the oath on pretence that it was too general, and might criminate himself: and when the Bible was brought, he said, "that the Bible used by them was not a true Bible, and therefore his oath would not bind him." His committal, after repeating this, was on the principle that the words w^{ere} used without any occasion given, to the scandal of the Protestant religion, and in the face of Parliament.

† The Parliament, soon after, removed the Earl of Portland from the government of the island, and appointed the Earl of Pembroke in his stead.

conceaved it would be much for y^e advantage of yor Matie, & y^e good of the kingdome, & therefore I humbly offer it to yor Maties considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for yor Matie to write to my Lo: Keeper to cause a proclamac'on to be forthwth issued to require all y^e members of both Houses respectively (all excuses set apart) to attend y^e Parliamt in person to consider of such affaires as concerne y^e peace & good of this kingdome & other yor Maties dominions.

I belieue that I haue done this in a former dispatch, but in all euents I co'mand you to reiterate to the Keeper, in my name.

Wee hope now shortly to heare of yor Maties speedy & certeyne returne from Scotland, & that it may be wth hon^r & safety shalbe y^e dayly prayers of,

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The Com'ons are p^eparing a declarac'on of y^e state of y^e kingdome, as it was when they first met in Parliamt.

Westminster, 2^o No^{bris}, 1641.

Eden. 9.

“ For yor sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

Apost. 9^o 9^{bris}.—Recd 15^o 9^{bris} by Mr. Arth: Berkley.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

By my let^r of y^e 2^d of this moneth I advertised yo^r Matie of y^e arrivall of Mr. W^m Murrey, & since he brings no certeyne news when yo^r Matie intends to be here, but in generall that it wilbe shortly, I thought it my duty to put yo^r Matie in minde, that y^e Lo. Mayor & Citizens here doe much desire to have tymely notice what day yo^r Matie will come to this towne, that they

By my last I bade you expect mee on the 20 : yet now I fynde that it will be the 24 before I can cum, but bee assured that I shall differ no longer, for by the grace of God, I shall

sett out from hence on the 18: without faile: & for warning my L^o. Maior, take directions from my Wyfe, when to doe it, for though she knowes when I shall meete her, yet I haue left to her the choice of the place, & when I shall cum to London.

may have y^e hono^r to waite on yo^r Matie. There came P^{tr}s yesterday from Irland w^{ch} confirme y^e newes of y^e Rebellion there, & say that the Rebels are come wthin 20 miles of Dublin, & are very cruell to y^e Englishe Protestants, and have donne much mischeif alreddy in y^e country:—There is order here for sending p^{es}ently 2000 foote & 500 horse from hence into Irland: and Sr Ja. Ashley,* & Seriant Maior Merrick and other Officers are forthwth to goe away for that kingdome. The hast of this bearer, (who came even now to me from y^e Queene for a post warrant) will not give me tyme to write more to yo^r Matie att p^{es}ent, but that I assure yo^r Matie yo^r presence here is now extreame necessary,† as well for yo^r affaires here, as in Irland: & I beseech God to send yo^r Matie a speedy & safe returne, w^{ch} none desires more then

Yo^r Maties

Most humble & most obedient seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Wesminster, 3^o Nob^{ris} 1641, att 9. at night.

Eden. 9.

* Sir Jacob Astley was Serjeant Major General of the King's Army-royal; he distinguished himself much during the Civil Wars, and was created Lord Astley of Reading. Merrick was afterwards knighted by the King; yet he joined the Parliament forces, was made Serjeant Major General by the Earl of Essex, and afterwards, at the siege of Reading, was appointed General of the Ordnance, being superseded in his former office by the famous Skippon, by order of the Parliament.

† It is a curious fact that the leading party in the House of Commons were as anxious for the King's coming back, as his friends could be; for on this day it was ordered by the House that a letter should be sent to the King, pressing his return.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

I wrote to yo^r Matie a few lynes yesterday by an expresse sent by ye Queene, & this morning I receaved yo^r Maties com'aunds by apostile of ye 30th of 8ber. I have herewith sent yo^r Matie a let^r from my Lo. Keeper (& to Mr. Th^rrer a Bill) for new Sheriffs for this next yeare, that yo^r Matie may be pleased to prick them there if you soe thinke fitt; My Lo. Keeper desir'd me wthall to send to yo^r Matie ye informac'on inclos'd, w^{ch} his Lop receaved (for sparing of some vpon that Bill) since ye same was made vp, that yo^r Matie may be pleased to take them into considerac'on.

The Lo^{dds} of yo^r Maties Privy Councell here have heard read all ye exa'iac'cons concerning Mar: Hamiltons, and ye Earles of Arguile & Lannerick absenting themselves, & since they receaved noe direcc'ons to com'unicate those exa'iac'cons to any other then to yo^r Privy Councell, they thinke not fitt to publishe ye same, otherwise then by declaring (to such as they shall have occasion to speake wth about that business), that they finde nothing in all those exa'iac'ons, that in any sorte reflects vpon yo^r Maties honor. The exa'iac'ons themselves are by their Lop^s left in my hands vnsealed, that any of ye Lo^{ds} of yo^r Privy Councell may see & reade them, but I am to give noe coppies of ye same, & ye Lo^{dds} willed me to signify to Mr. Th^rrer, that if yo^r Matie please that there shalbe any further publication thereof, they expect further direcc'ons therein. I have com'unicated to ye Lo^{dds}, & given them coppies of Mar: Hamiltons 3^d let^r to yo^r Matie, w^{ch} doth give great satis-

The Keeper will fynd by this inclosed to him that I meane not to pricke the Bill of Sherifs vntill my cuming home, so that for the present there is no neede of his information.

They neede to doe no more, but as they haue & resolute to doe,

There neede no more.

face'on here to all men, that nothing in that vnhappy business doth in y^e least manner reflect on yo^r Maties honor.

The Parliamt* here takes to hart y^e Rebellion in Irland, & hath expressed a great affec'con to yo^r Maties service in that partic'lar. They have resolved (as my Lo. Keeper desired me to signify to yo^r Matie) to send thither 6000 foote & 2000 horse; whereof 2000 foote & 500 horse presently; & they are borrowing of y^e Citty 50^{m.l.}, w^{ch} they hope wilbe sent, & in confidence, that they shall have y^e same to supply other paymts, they are now sending away 20^{m.l.}, w^{ch} they have redly in cashe, & was designed for other affaires. My Lo. Keeper saith he hath sent yo^r Matie P'trs touching y^e Irishe Rebellion to the Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to consider of & take care for all things that concerne that business, and will himself speedily give yo^r Matie an accompt of yo^r Maties comaunds, w^{ch} he received this day in y^e packet of y^e 30th of 8ber. I assure yo^r Matie I find that it is noe easie matter in these mallevolent tymes, for an honnest man (that hath any thing to doe in affaires) to p^eserve himself & his reputac'on: but I hope yo^r Matie will protect yo^r faithfull

I shall not faile to protect you according to my Power, & (according to the owld Englishe compliment) I would it were better for your sake.

* Bulstrode, alluding to this Parliament, afterwards called the Long Parliament, observes that it was convened to meet on the 3d November 1641, "a most ominous day! for the Parliament met that day, in 20 Hen. VIII. which began with the fall of Cardinal Wolsey." Indeed the superstition of men's minds, at that period, seems to have both hastened and aggravated the political confusion: but the date is wrong; it ought to have been 1640.

servaunts, that shall wth integrity & dilligence endeavour to serve you, as will ever

Yo^r sacred Mat^{ies}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

There is an Act passing for pressing of soldiours for Irland, w^{ch} hath bene twice read, and is now in y^e Comittes hands.

Westminster 4^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden: 9.

“For yo^r sacred Mat^{ie}.”

“Yours apostyled.”

Apost. 9^o 9^{bris}.—Recd 15^o November by Mr. Arthur Berkley.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Mat^{ie},

I wrote to yo^r Mat^{ie} by packet y^e 4th of this Nober, & this now is to convey y^e inclosed from my Lo. Keeper: I hope it will meete yo^r Mat^{ie} on y^e way, for that I heare it said, that yo^r Mat^{ie} will set forth on Munday next, but because I am not certeyne of it, I haue directed this packet to Mr. Thr'er, w^{ch} otherwise I should haue addressed (according to yo^r Mat^{ies} com'aund) to my Lo^d Duke.* If yo^r Mat^{ie} doe not hasten hither, I doubt y^e p^eparations for Irland will goe on but slowly,† & soe may come too late to p^event great mischiefs there, notwthstanding

* Duke of Richmond.

† Yet the Parliament seems to have been very busy upon this subject; for not only was there a Declaration framed on the 4th, but letters were also sent to the Lords Justices, pressing the most energetic measures of defence.

I onlie now re-
peate what in a
former I sayd,
that you receaue
order from my
Wyfe for this,
what day it shall
be; with this
addition, that
you direct my
Lord Chamber-
laine * (I meane
Essex) to wait
on my Wyfe,
who will giue
him directions
what Howses
he shall prepare
for my vse
against my re-
turne.

ye care of our Parliamt. Here are besides (I assure yo^r Matie) other affaires that highly import yo^r Maties hast hither: If yo^r Matie please to give leave to my Lo. Mayor & ye Cittizens here to wayte on you into this towne, I beseech yo^r Matie to com'aund that timely notice may be given of ye day, that they may provide for it, for ye best of ye Cittizens expresse a great desire to shew their affec'on therein to yo^r Matie, wch I humbly conceave it will not be convenient to declyne.

I humbly pray for yo^r Maties happy and speedy returne, as being

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 6^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden: 13:

Written on the reverse of the last Letter.

Since I wrote the other let^r to yo^r Matie, happening wth ye opportunity of this messenger (who I hope will deliver my let^r safe to yo^r Royall hands), I thought it my duty to make this addic'on to my former let^r, that yesterday in ye Comons House, it was moved to send instruc'cons to ye Englishe Com'ittees, to let yo^r Matie know, that ye Parliamt here finds that ill councells have bene ye cause of all these troubles in Irland, and that vnlesse yo^r Matie wilbe pleased to discharge ye ill Councillors that are about you & to take such as ye kingdome can confide in, the Parliamt doth hold itself absolv'd from giving

* It is difficult to ascertain why the King expresses himself thus. Essex possessed this office until 1642, when he was superseded by Edward, Earl of Dorset.

assistance for ye busines in Irland: Some that found fault wth this expression were chequed, but there was noe p^rfect resoluc^on in this, but ye further considerac^on thereof was put off to a further day.*

I write this that yo^r Matie may see how extreamely necessary it is for you to hasten hither. I beseech yo^r Matie to keep to yo^rself this addic^on, & to burne this let^r, w^{ch} is now sent you from

Y^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster 6^o No^{bris} 1641,
att 12 a clock at noone.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Since myne of ye 6th p^{esent} sent by Mr. Greene a servant of ye D: of Richmonds, I received ye same night here at Oatlands yo^r Maties apostile of ye 2^d, and have sent yo^r Maties P^{re} to ye B^{pp} of London together wth ye Bills signed for ye new B^{pps}. I shall carefully p^rforme all yo^r Maties com^aunds by yo^r last, & render yo^r Matie

* This is a very curious fact, illustrative of the private history of that time. It is not stated in the Parliamentary History, nor in the usual records for historical research. It is remarkable that Sir E. N. does not take any notice of the apology sent to the Lords on this day by the Queen, excusing Father Phillips, and praying forgiveness for him, "if it shall appear unto you that he hath not maliciously done any thing against the State, if, for my sake, you will pass by this present offence," &c. The Lords would have admitted him to bail, but the Commons refused.

I returne this
onlie to show
you that I am
carefull to doe
what you desyre.

a speedy account of y^e same. My Lo: Keeper sent me this evening this let^r to be conveyed to yo^r Matie wth all dilligence, w^{ch} is y^e principall cause of this dispatch. I beseech yo^r Matie to be pleased to burne or returne to me all my lett^{rs}, for I perceave by y^e strict enquiry after the writer of Mr. Webbs let^r, that there is a vigilant & prying eye after all that is written hence, & I would not willingly, that y^e Lyons should be made iudges of my eares. Wee hope yo^r Matie will set forth for these partes too morrow senight at farthest. I can say noe more to move yo^r Matie to hasten hither then hath bene advertised. I pray God to send yo^r Matie a speedy and safe returne. I am confident yo^r Matie was never more welcome to y^e better sorte of Londoners than you will now be, & I beleve y^e whole kingdome will reioyce to heare of yo^r Maties happy returne, w^{ch} wilbe y^e best newes that hath this yeare come to y^e eares of

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Oatlands, 7^o Nobris 1641.

Eden. 13.

The QUEEN to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Maistre Nicholas havinge reseaued a letter from London to nitgh (night): that there is many of the Lords that ar gone of in the contree, and that the ar a fraid the shall want some for the bussinesse of the bishops: having heard that Carnaruen* is in is owne hous some

* Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon; slain in 1643 at the battle of Newbury. His Countess was niece to Sir Richard

twentie milles of I belive very fit you should writt to him from the King to have him come to London for that time this bearer will cary your letter to him and having nothing to say more I rest,

Your assured friend

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

“ For Maistre Nicholas.”

R. 8^o Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

This Letter, and the following ones up to the 10th of November, serve to fill up an hiatus in the Parliamentary History of this period.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Yesterday I sent yo^r Matie a l^tr from my Lo. Keeper by packet addressed to Mr. Th^rrer. This day the Com^ons House considered of y^e heads of y^e instrucc^ons to be sent to y^e Englishe Com^oittees, & after a long debate, they voted y^e same in y^e House, w^{ch} was thereupon divided, & there were (as I heare) 110. votes against, & 151. for those instrucc^ons, amongst w^{ch} there is one head to y^e effect, (but a little quallified,) of what I wrote in my postscript by Mr. Greene. Those in-

You must see to cross this in the Lords House if it be possible.

Browne, as it is stated in Bromley's Royal Letters; but how does not appear, for she was daughter of the Earl of Pembroke. When this nobleman was expiring in the field, he was asked if he had any suit to the King? He replied, that “ he would not die with a suit in his mouth, to any King, but the King of Heaven !”

strucc'ons (I am tould) are to be transmitted to ye Lords.

By the grace of God those will prove false Prophets.

It is here reported by those who have ye speediest & certeynest advertisem^{ts} from Edinburg, that yo^r Matie will not be here till Christmas: what reason they have for it I know not. The warr^{ts} for ye new Bps are passing as fast as may be: I this day put ye Signet to those for Yorke & Lincolne.*

I have signified yo^r Maties pleasure to my Lo: Keeper to issue a Proclamac'on that all Parliam^t men attend in P'liam^t, but his Lopp saith a Proclamac'on must issue in ye ordinary way, and be first signed by yo^r Matie, wherefore I have by his Lops advise this day sent a warr^t accordingly to yo^r Maties Attorney, to p^epare such a Proclamac'on for yo^r Maties signature, w^{ch} as soone as I can get from him shalbe speedily sent to yo^r Matie. The Ea. of South^{ton}† hath bene in North^{tonsh}: this senight, but wilbe here Wensday next, when I shall not fayle to acquaint his Lop wth what yo^r Matie hath comaunded me. I heare there was this afternoone brought into ye Com'ons House, and there read, a Declarac'on of ye state of ye affaires of this kingdome, w^{ch} relates all ye misgovernment and vnpleasing things that have bene donne by ill Counsellis (as they call it) since 3^o of yo^r Maties raigne to this p^esent, and it reflects soe much to ye p^ejudice of yo^r Maties government, as if yo^r Matie come not instantly away, I trouble to thinke what wilbe ye issue of it: for surely if there had bene in this nothing but an intenc'on to have iustified the proceedings of

You must needs speake with such of my servants that you may best trust, in my name, that by all meanes possible this may bee stoped.

* These appointments did not take place.

† Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. He died in 1667, without issue.

this P'liamt, they would not have begun soe high as 3^o. The further considerac'on of this Declarac'on is to be had too morrow in y^e House of Com'ons. If yo^r Matie shall not be pleased to keepe to yo^rself what I have written, and to burne this let^r, I may be lost. Yo^r Matie cannot so much p^eiudice yo^rself, (if you come away & leave all things there vnfinished,) as you may now by delaying yo^r Maties returne one day: I pray God there be not a designe to deteyne you there against the wishes & advise of all yo^r best servaunts here: God send yo^r Matie a safe & speedy returne, so prayeth alwayes

I shall most
carefully.

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 13.

Westminster, 8. No^bris 1641.

“ For yo^r sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

8^o No^bris 1641. Apost. 13^o. 9^bris. Rec. 18. 9^bris.

Sent by Sir H. Hungate.*

The QUEEN to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Maister Nicholas, I am vere sory that my lett^re did not come time enouf to go. I haue reseaued yours, and I haue writt to the King to hasten is coming. I send

* Sir Philip Hungate, of Saxton, in Yorkshire, was the first Baronet, so created by Charles the First. No name of Henry appears in the Baronetage; therefore the person alluded to must have been one of the numerous Knights Bachelors of that reign.

you the letter and if little Will Murray is well enouf I would haue him go backe againe: to scotland without comin yer for a would haue him go to marow morning: tel him from me: but if he wher not well then you must prouide some bodie that will be sure for my letter must not be lost: and I would not trusted to and ordinaire poste: I am so ill prouided whitt personnes that I dare truste that at this instant I haue no living creature that I dare send: pray doe whatt you can to helpe me if little Will Murray can not go to send this letter, and so I rest,

Your assured friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

“For your selfe.”

R. 10^o Nobris 1641. The Q: that I should send an
expr: Mer w: her let^r.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

My last was by Sr Hen: Hungate, w^{ch} I hope will come safe to yo^r Royall hands; & I now send this expresse by y^e Queene's com'aund to convey her Maties l^{tr}, for her Matie saith she hath alreddy sent all those she can trust, wth expresses to yo^r Matie; Wee hope that some of them will shortly bring y^e much desired newes of yo^r Maties returne.

I have spoken wth y^e BP of Lincolne about yo^r Maties pardon of y^e 13 Bps for y^e Premunire, & his Lo^p saith he wisheth that y^e pardon to them may be generall for all things else aswell as for y^e Premunire, whereof his Lo^p will consider better, & then I shall give yo^r Matie a further accompt of that partic'lar. My Lo. Keeper tells me that there are many precedents, that y^e Peers in

P^liam't have chosen their owne Speaker, & that vntill y^e Lo. Burleighes later tyme, there is scarce any Record, that y^e King hath by l^ts p^{at}tents appointed a Speaker for that House. Yor Matie (I beleeve) hath heard that both Houses of Parliam^t made an Ordinance Satterday last, that y^e Lo. Lieutenant of Irland shall forthwth rayse Volontiers here in Engl. to be transported for suppressing y^e Rebellion in Irland: yesterday his Lopp acquainting some Parliam^t men, that he doubted whether he might rayse men wthout warr^t vnder y^e Great Seale, his Lops doubt was made knowne in y^e Com'ons House, and thereupon it was in that House declared, that an Ordinance of both Houses was a sufficyent warr^t for his Lops levying of Volontiers by beating of the drum &c. & an entry of such their Declarac'on was accordingly made in the Register of that House. I heare that it is written from Irland, that y^e Rebells there giue forth, that they expect yor Matie every day att Don Luce,* w^{ch} is a calumny raysed by them much to yor Maties dishonor & disadvantage, only to iustify their Rebellion, & were fitt to be vindicated. The Declarac'on remo'strating y^e effects of yor Maties ill Councells, was yesterday by y^e Com'ons House taken againe into considera-c'on, & a 4th parte thereof gonne thorow wthall & voted there, & y^e rest of it wilbe passed there, as fast as may be, & then it is to be transmitted to y^e Lodd^s. There was yesterday a considerac'on in y^e Upper House concerning excluding y^e Papists Lodes, & after a long debate that business was let fall, only there was an Order made that

Com'and the Keeper in my name that he warne all my seruants to oppose it in the Lords House.

* Dunluce Castle, near the Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim, the seat of the Earls of Antrim; but now in ruins.

ye lawes against Recusants should forthwth be put in execut^{on}. Mr. Attorney* (according yor Maties pleasure signified to him) hath drawne a Proclamac^{on}, to comaund all Parliam^t men to attend in Parliam^t, & having shewed it to my Lo. Keeper, his Lop (as Mr. Attorney tells me) likes y^e draught, but saith he conceaveth it not fitt to issue any such Proclamac^{on}, & that he will shortly satisfie yor Matie therein. I beseech God to send yor Matie a speedy & happy returne, wherein all yor Maties best servaunts here ioin in prayer wth

This bearer will fully satisfie you in that.

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The cause concerning y^e 13 Bps, and the Bill touching Bpps, is to be considered of, Friday next.

Westminster: 10^o No^{bris} 1641, at 12: at noone.

Eden: 15.

“For yor sacred Matie.”

“Yours apostyled.”

10: 9^{bris} 1641. Apost. 15^o. Ret. by Sir H. Hungate,
20^o at one o'clock afternoone.

This was sent by Smith the Messenger.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

By the Queenes com'aund I sent yesterday one Smith expressly wth her Maties ler, w^{ch} I hope he will p^esent safe, & wth dilligence to your Royall hands. Wensday

* Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

last there was a very greate debate in y^e Lodes House, touching instruct'ons p^epared by y^e Com'ons to be sent to y^e Englishe Com'ittees att Edenburg; six of those instruct'ons concerne y^e Rebellion in Irland, w^{ch} y^e Lodes passed & approved of, the 7th was concerning ill Councillors & Councells,* w^{ch} held a very long debate, wherein I may not forbear to advertise yo^r Matie: that y^e Ea: of Bristoll & his sonne y^e (Lo: Digby) did argue wth soe much reason † & iudgem't, as they got y^e 7th instruct'ion to be fairely laid aside, & yesterday att a conference of both Houses, the Lo^{des} tould y^e Com'ons, that they agreed to 6 of y^e said instruct'ons, but y^e seventh was of soe great consequence, as they thought fit to leave it to a further tyme: Yo^r Matie may be pleased to take notice

Thanke them
from me.

* Mr. Prynne undertook to enlighten the Lords upon the subject of Evil Counsellis. His reasoning was founded upon the anatomy of the human body. He also prophesied great advantages from a change, particularly if the King should not be permitted to select any servants except those approved by Parliament. Vide Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 33 et seq.

† Yet Lord Digby had been an active enemy of Lord Strafford; but in a speech made to the House of Commons on the 21st of April, 1641, he recanted his former opinions respecting that Earl, so far as to refuse his signature to an official document, even whilst describing Strafford as "a dangerous and insupportable minister to free subjects." The whole speech is a most curious specimen of special pleading! His apparent objects, however, were to preserve his own consistency, and yet to save Lord Strafford's life; his speech closing with a solemn protestation against any sentence of death: "and I do, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood."

By the grace of
God I will doe
it shortlie my-
selfe.

of y^e singular good service that was in that busines donne by those 2 noblemen, & especially by the sonne, who (I heare) did beyond admirac'on.

My Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attor: Gen'rall have deferred the issuing of y^e Proclamac'on to require all Parliamentmens attendaunce, as conceaving it to be vnseasonable att this tyme, & my Lo: Keeper hath promised that he will give yo^r Matie satisfacc'on therein.

It is a poore one.

I have herewth sent yo^r Matie a speech published here in the name of Mar: Hamilton, that yo^r Matie may see what artifice is here vsed by his friends to insinuate into y^e people a good opinion of his Lo^{ps} piety and integrity. The House of Com'ons was yesterday soe employed about Irishe affaires, as they meddled not wth their Declarac'on, remonstrating y^e ill effects of bad Councells. It is advertised out of Irland that y^e rebels are 30. thousand strong, in severall places of that kingdome, & that they approche towards Tredaw, * for defence whereof, y^e Lo^{ds} Justices have sent 1000 foote, and 2 troopes of horse: if y^e rebels shall defeate those forces, it is thought they wilbe soone for Dublin. The Lo^{ds} Justices write, that vnlesse there be p^esently sent over 10,000 men, & 100 m^l. in monny, that kingdom wilbe lost: whereupon y^e Parliamt^t hath ordered to increase y^e 6,000 foote (formerly directed to be raised) to 10,000: & they intend forthwth to passe an Act for raying of 200 m^l for the service of Irland: And where they formerly desired to have only 1000 Scots, now they will desire to have 10,000 Scots to be sent into Irland in such numbers as y^e Parliamt^t shall give direcc'ons.

Yo^r Matie may by these relac'ons perceave of what extreame necessity & importaunce yo^r Maties speedy re-

* Tredagh—the Irish name for Drogheda.

turne is, w^{ch} I beseech yo^r Matie by all meanes to hasten, for notwthstanding all the discourses in Parliamt, I see nothing put into acc'on. That yo^r Matie may have a speedy, safe, & hon^{ble} returne shalbe ever y^e earnest prayers of

Yo^r Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The last night att 10. a clock, after I had closed this let^r, I received by Mr. Tho: Killegrew yo^r Maties comands by 2 apostiles, & am now going to Oatlands wth yo^r Maties let^r to y^e Queene, having sent that to my Lo: Keeper: I shalbe carefull to p'forme what yo^r Matie by that dispatch hath comaunded me. All honnest men will reioyce at y^e welcome newes of yo^r Maties returne.

Westminster, 12^o Nobris, 1641.

Eden. 18.

“ For yo^r sacred Matie.”

“ Yours apostyled.”

12^o Nobris. Apost. 18^o. Ret: by Mr. Proger * 22^o at 9. morning.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

I sent a let^r this morning to yo^r Matie by Mr. Jo: Digby,† since my wrighting whereof I received yo^r He cam yesterday.

* Some notice of this Mr. Proger may be seen in “ Les Memoires de Grammont,” where he is spoken of as about the person of Charles the Second, and said to be “ confident de ses menues plaisirs.”

† Son to the Earl of Bristol.

The returning of
w^{ch} is the onlie
cause of aposty-
ling this.

But if [it] bee
dated before (&
therefor I haue
not filled the
eate) I suppose
it may doe some
good.

So I haue.

Doe you that in
my name.

Maties by Mr. Killegrew, & shall carefully obey yo^r Maties comaunds. This is only to conuey to yo^r Royall hands a Pardon for y^e 13 Bpps,* p^epared by y^e Bp of Lincolne, who (it seemes) thought not fitt to trust any of yo^r Maties learned Councell wth y^e drawing of it; his Lo^p sent me word that I should hasten it to yo^r Matie (albeit you might be on yo^r way home) as I tendred y^e good of yo^r Maties service, w^{ch} made me send it now, notwthstanding my owne humble opinion is, that since y^e hearing of y^e busines against these 13 Bpps was appointed to be this day, & in all likelihoode will not be put off to a day much farther, that it were better to deferre y^e passing of this Pardon till it shalbe seene what wilbe determyned concerning them, for if they shalbe sentenced by y^e Parliam^t, this pardon coming afterwards, and not menc'oning their being sentenced, will not be sufficyent, & if they shalbe quitted it wilbe needl^{esse}; Nay if it shall not be kept very secreat, it may be to their p^eiu-dice; but yo^r Matie com'aunding me in this busines to pursue y^e direcc'ons of that able & experienced BPP, I held it my duty to obey wthout disputing: If yo^r Matie shall thinke fitt to passe this pardon att this tyme, you may be pleased to signe it, as well on y^e back, that it may passe by imediat warr^t as on y^e fore part of it, & to send it sealed up, wth an expresse com'aund to my Lo. Keeper to seale, who will otherwise I beleeeve make some scruple to put y^e Great Seale to it.

* In a subsequent letter, Sir E. N. again refers to the case of the Bishops, and to the fact of their demurring to the impeachment before the Lords, with the exception of Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who pleaded "Not Guilty." This was notified to the Commons by a message from the Lords on the 12th.

Yor Maties of ye 6th of this moneth giues me good hope that this packet will meete yo^r Matie on ye way, & therefore I have addressed it (as yo^r Matie comanded) to ye D. of Richmonde. God of his mercy p^eserve & protect yo^r Matie, & send you a safe and happy returne, w^{ch} is ye prayer of all yo^r Maties best affected servaunts, as well as of

Yor Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this let^r my Lo: of Bristoll sent me word that his sonne Mr. Jo: Digby goes not for Scotland, and therefore I have sent that let^r wth this to yo^r Matie.

Westminster, 12^o No^{bris} 1641.

Eden: 17:

The QUEEN to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Maistre Nicholas, I have receaved your lettre. I am sory you ar not well for I would haue ben glad to speake to you but it is of no haste therefore donat hastend your selfe for feare of being sick; I send you a lettre for Milord Keeper that the King ded send to me to deliuer it if I though it fit. the subject of it is to make a Derclaration against the ordres of Parliamant which ar made without the King. If you beleue a fit time giue it him if not you may keepet till I see you.

the King will bee here sertaineleye the 20 of this monthe therefore you may aduertice the Maior of London. Your lettre that you did writt to Carnaruen is comme bak to mee and I burnt it. he was not at is

hows it should be vere nessessairic that you should inquire where (he) is and writt to him and send to milord Cotinton for is proxies for I heer he as to (two) and is owne. and send to milord Southampton and Dunsemoure * to send their proxies till the comme them selues; the are in Warwieshier. hauing no more to say I reeste this 12 Novembre

Your assured frend

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

“ For your selfe.”

12^o Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

This is ye first day since my falling sick, that I have bene able to sit vp to write: & albeit I shall doe it wth some difficulty, yet my duty will not suffer me to forbear any longer to give yo^r Matie an accompt, that by Mr. Barkley I receaved on Sunday night last yo^r Maties comaunds in 3 apostiles dated ye 9th of this moneth: All w^{ch} I have alreddy p^oform'd, excepting that concerning giving notice to my Lord Mayor of ye day of yo^r Maties entring into London, whereof (I beleeve) I shall this afternoone have certeynty from the Queene.

Herewth yo^r Matie will receive a proclamac'on for ye attendance of ye Parliam^t men, w^{ch} my Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attorney conceaved would have bene better to have bene forborne to be published till yo^r Maties returne,

* Francis Leigh, Lord Dunsmore; afterwards Earl of Chichester.

w^{ch} is now so neere in expectac'on. The House of Com'ons hastens by all meanes y^e finishing of y^e Declarac'on or Remonstrance, & for y^e more speedy expediting of it, they have att y^e Com'ittee passed by many p'ticlars to avoide y^e delay of long debate.

The order of y^e House of Com'ons for y^e number of Scots to be sent into Irland, was altered from 1000. to 5000. vpon Saturday last in y^e afternoone, & thoughe (wee heare) that y^e employm^t of soe many Scots wilbe very acceptable to that nac'on, yet it is here apprehended by wise men, that y^e same will exasperate y^e Irishe, & make them buckle more resolutely to a warre of rebellion, then otherwise they would doe. Since y^e plot in delivering to Mr. Pym * a let^r wth a plaster and a threatening in it, there was on Munday last in y^e evening,

* The "History of the King-Killers" says of Pym, that "he was a rank Puritan, and the more dangerous, because he would outwardly appear zealous for the Church of England. Thus, like a subtle rebel, he was a great pretender to religion and reformation, ever finding faults, and inveighing against such as he called innovations and corruptions; yet with such counterfeit shews of respect as made him the more regarded, and his words the more pernicious." When the riots of the London Apprentices took place, soon after this date, the Lords sent a message to the Commons demanding their concurrence in appeasing the tumult, and punishing the authors of it; but Pym opposed the measure, exclaiming, "God forbid that we should stifle the voice of liberty, and oppose the just desires of the people!" A pamphlet of that period, alluding to the plot, is entitled "A damnable treason by a contagious plaster of a plague sore, sent to Mr. Pym," &c.

another as desperate and dangerous a conspiracy against him, & diverse members of both Houses, discovered by a poore zealous taylor, who, being in y^e fields mending y^e notes he had taken of a sermon, there happened to come (as he relates it) 2. souldier-like men, soe neere him, as he overheard them telling each other, how many of their acquaintance were to be forthwth employed to murder diverse members both of y^e Upper and Lower House, & this taylor* had y^e oportunity to take from those 2. mens mouthes y^e names both of y^e murtherers, & of y^e p'sons to be murdered: the reward to him that kil'd a member of y^e Lower House was to be 40s. & to him that murdered one of y^e Upper House £10. This discovery makes a great noyse in & about y^e Parliamt^t House, & (however many wise men give no credit at all to it, yet) it hath produced severall orders for securing of y^e Parliamt^t, & Parliament-men, the coppies of some of w^{ch} I have here inclosed sent yor Matie. The order of y^e 16th p'sent,† w^{ch} requires that y^e rigour of y^e law be put in excuc'on against all Papists, that shalbe founde in London or Westminster after this night, is not (I heare) thought by some of y^e Com'ons to be severe enoughe, soe as it is conceived there wilbe some more sharpnes added to that order this day: all y^e Papists Lo^{des} are alreddy removing out of this Towne vpon this order. ffriday last (w^{ch} was y^e first day of my falling

* His name was Beale. In fact the House could procure no further intelligence upon the subject; and it seems to have been either a piece of folly, or of roguery, on the part of the informer.

† Not recorded in the Parliamentary History.

into extremity) the Venetian Amb'dor complained att y^e Councell Boorde, that his P^{rs} had bene opened by y^e Com'ittees of Parliamt, & he was soe much incensed at it, as he there made his protest, & declared, that he would treat no further, & thereupon wthdrew himselfe (as I heare) to Greenew^{ch}, till such tyme as he shall advertise that Republique wth that affront as he termed it. The agent of y^e D. of Florence is as highly distasted wth some violence that hath been vsed in serching his house by some officers or warr^{nt} of Parliamt: these distasts given to those Ministers will (it is thought) light very heavy on yo^r Maties sub^{ts} trading [to] those partes, & will proove a very great peiudice & interrupte'on to y^e trade of this yo^r Maties kingdome.

I heare from a very good hand, that there are diverse principall gent^t of Hertfordsh: who are desirous to tender their duty to yo^r Matie att Ware, & to wayte on you into that towne if yo^r Matie shall make any stop there, & they will bring wth them diverse of their neighbours & friends, who are desirous to shew how welcome yo^r Maties re-
turne is into that country, whereof I thought good to give yo^r Matie this tymely notice, for that I humbly conceaue it would not be amisse for yo^r Matie in these tymes to accept grac'ously y^e affecc'ons of yo^r sub^{ts} in that kinde, whereby you will have opportunity to shew yourself grac'ous to yo^r people as yo^r Matie passeth, & to speake a few good words to them, w^{ch} will gaine y^e aff'ons (especially of y^e vulgar) more then any thing that hath bene donne for them this Parliamt. This day y^e examinac'ous against O'Neale were read in y^e Com'ous House, wherein were menc'oned some P^{rs} & papers signed C. R., the effect of one of w^{ch} (sent to Capt:

Leg*) was (as I heare), that he should speake with Sr Ja: Ashley according to instrucc'ons wch he had from yo^r Matie, & let none see that let^r but only Sr Ja: Ashley, who, together wth Sr Jo. Conyers† (as I am tould, but I beseech yo^r Matie to take noe notice thereof from me) have bene very large & partic'lar in their examinac'ons, wch (I heare) reflect vpon yo^r Maties person: it is thought that y^e Parliam^t will condempne O'Neale, but they are not yet resolved where or how to trye him: they doubt y^e testimony against him will not be soe full, as in a legall way to condempne him at the King's Bench barre, & they resolve not (as yet) whether it wilbe fit to doe it by a Bill, according to their legislative power.

I have (as yo^r Matie com'anded) given wart^t to my Lo: Keeper to renew y^e Com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London, & to put in y^e new Lo: Mayor, who is a very well affted servaunt of yo^r Maties.

There is a Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to p^epare instrucc'ons for y^e Lo: Lieutenant of Ireland, wherewth they are now in hand. The 13 BPPs did demurre to y^e busines agt them, but y^e Com'ons have in their House overruled y^e demurrer & voted that those Bps shall answer in cheif. I dispatched y^e Bills for y^e new Bps wth all expedic'on, & that busines is now in as good forwardnes as may be. I hope by that tyme yo^r Matie shall returne hither, to be able to goe abroade, in

* Captain Leg, otherwise Colonel; but better known as "honest Will Leg;" and ancestor of the Earls of Dartmouth.

† This Conyers was afterwards, in 1643, nominated by the Parliament to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, after their forcing the King to dismiss Sir John Byron from that situation.

y^e meane tyme, I will to y^e best of my strength & abillity
p'forme y^e duty of

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 18: No^{bris} 1641.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Yesterday I wrote to yo^r Matie, & addressed it by
packet to y^e D. of Richmond, as yo^r Matie co'manded
me when you should be on yo^r returne: since that, I
have received from y^e Queene 3 of my l'trs, all of them
apostiled by yo^r Matie y^e 13th of this moneth, & I humbly
acknowledge myself infinitely obliged to yo^r Matie for
yo^r grac'ous goodnes in returning and burning my l'trs.
I shall carefully obey all yo^r Maties com'aunds in those
l'trs. I have herewth sent for yo^r Maties signature a
draught for yo^r Royall assent for y^e Bpp of Lincolne*
to be Archbp of Yorke: this was brought to me this day,
& there is noe returne as yet made vpon y^e *Congé d'es-*
lires for any of y^e other Bpps. I have herewth alsoe sent
yo^r Matie a Bill conteyning a Com'ission to appoint y^e
Ea. of Holland to be Lo: G'rall of all yo^r Maties forces
beyond the Trent, w^{ch} com'ission yo^r Matie gave order
for, before yo^r iourney into Scotland, but it seemes by
Mr. Attorney (who now brought me this by direcc'on

* John Williams, D.D. Dean of Westminster, and formerly Lord Keeper. To this draught the royal signature was given.

from y^e Parliam^t to be sent wth speede to yo^r Matie) that vpon y^e mistake of some name in y^e former draught it passed not y^e Greate Seale: I tould Mr. Attorney I did beleeve yo^r Matie would not thinke fitt to signe it now before yo^r returne; but howsoever he wished me to send it away to yo^r Matie wth y^e first, because he had promised soe much to y^e Lo^{dds} in P^{liam}^t: this is all I know of this busines, & yo^r Maties wisdome can best direct you what to doe in it.

The business against O'Neale is referred to a select Com[']ittee to be p^epared reddey for y^e House against Munday next, & some thinke it wilbe hardly heard then, for albeit y^e Com[']ons haue a very good minde to proceede roundly against him, yet (I heare) y^e proofes are soe broken, as they will not make a full & cleere evidence: the worst in all that busines is, that it reflects on yo^r Matie, as if you had giuen some instrucc[']ons concerning y^e stirring up y^e army to pet^{on} y^e Parliam^t: I hope it will appeare that yo^r Maties intenc[']ons were only to reteyne y^e army in their duty & dependance on yo^r Matie. The House of Com[']ons hath pressed y^e Lo^{des} very earnestly for remouall of y^e Ea: of Portland from his gov[']ment of y^e Isle of Weight, but y^e Lo^{des} yesterday, upon his Lops profession to liue & dye in y^e Protestant religion, let fall that busines as by y^e inclosed yo^r Matie will perceave. There hath bene nothing donne these 2. dayes by y^e Com[']ons touching y^e Declarac[']on remonstrating y^e bad effects of ill counsell, but it is thought that y^e same wilbe finished this weeke: there are diverse well aff[']ted servants of yo^r Maties in that House, that oppose that remonstrance wth vnanswerable argum[']ts, but it is verily thought that it will passe not-

wthstanding,* & that it wilbe ordered to be printed wthout transmission to y^e Lo^{des}. The Com'ons (I heare) haue intercepted some let^{rs} that passed betweene Mr. Crofts † & y^e Dutchess of Chevereux, ‡ and gotten the key of their *caraches*, whereupon Mr. Crofts hath this

* The motion was carried by 159 to 148, on the 22d of this month.

† Mr. Crofts and Mr. William Murray, already mentioned, were two of those whom the Committee of Parliament, sitting at Grocers' Hall, declared to be persons of vile character, and enemies to liberty ; passing at the same time a resolution that the King should be called on to dismiss them from his service.

Crofts had married the aunt of the Earl of Warwick ; and she had also been very active in Court intrigue previous to this ; as appears by a reference to Bromley's Royal Letters, page 85.

‡ This Lady was at the Court of England for the first time, in 1638 ; and is mentioned by Pennant, in his Journey to the Isle of Wight, as having swam across the Thames, in a frolic, somewhere, as he supposes, in the vicinity of Windsor. He also records part of a Copy of Verses made on the occasion by a Sir J. M.§ whose opinion of the Lady's frigid chastity is laughed at by the Cambrian Antiquary. Sir J. exclaimed :

“ But her chaste breast, cold as the cloyster'd nun,
Whose frost to chrystal might congeal the sun,
So glaz'd the stream, that pilots, there afloat,
Thought they might safely land without a boat ;
July had scen the Thames in ice involved,
Had it not been by her own beams dissolved.”

§ Probably Sir John Mennes, author of “ Musarum Deliciæ, or the Muses' Recreation.” 2nd edit. 12mo. 1656.

day bene exa'ied: as alsoe touching his soe frequent visitting of Coll: Goring at Portsmouth, & y^e Coll: is also come vp by com'and of y^e Com'ons, & suspected, for that it hath bene informed, that he hath fortified that garrison to y^e land, & put forth some ould souldiers & put in new; whereby yor Matie may see that euery small matter ministers feare here amongst us. I dare not as yet stirre out of my chamber, being still weake, but (if I shalbe able) I intend (God willing) to wayte on yor Matie at Theobalds on Wensday next, & in y^e meane tyme I humbly rest

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster: 19^o No^{bris} 1641.

“ For yor sacred Matie.”

The QUEEN to Sir E. NICHOLAS.

Maistre Nicholas, I did desire you not to acquainte mi lord of essex of what the King commanded you touching is commin: now you may doe it and tell him that the King will be at Tibols vendnesday and shall lye there and upond thursday he shall dine at my lord Maiors and lye at Whitthall onlye for one nitgh and upon friday will goe to hampton-court where he maenes to stay this vinter: the King commanded me to tell this to my lord of essex but you may doe it, for there Lords ships are to great prinse now to receaued anye

direction from mee: beeng all that I haue to say I shall rest

Your assured frand,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

“ For Maistre Nicholas.”

R: 20^o Nobris 1641.

The Q: for me to signify to Lo: Chamb'lan.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

I receaved yo^r Maties com'aunds yesterday by Sr Hen: Hungate, * & this day by Mr. Proger, & shalbe carefull to observe ye same, as I hope I shalbe able on Wensday next to give yo^r Matie an accompt att Theobalds.

I have now againe receaved assuraunce, that (as I formerly acquainted yo^r Matie) ye Gent: & diverse of ye best of ye freeholders of Hertfordshire will wayte on yo^r Matie a myle before you come to Ware, & if yo^r Matie please to make a little stop in that towne, that ye better sorte may there kisse yo^r Royall hand, & ye rest be spoken to by yo^r Matie, it will give them very great contentmt. If yo^r Matie please to come softly from Ware, ye most of those will wayte on yo^r Matie as farre as Theobalds, & if yo^r Matie thinke not that conveyent, they will wayte on yo^r Matie only a mile or two out of Ware, & soe receive yo^r Maties grac'ous dismissal. I am ye more dilligent to give yo^r Matie this advertisemt, because I know those gent: will not fayle in this manner to shew their affecc'ons & duty to you, & that county being soe neere a neighbour to London, it wilbe a good encou-

* See before, Letter 8th November, p. 92.

ragem^t & comfort to yo^r well affected people here, to vnderstand, that they have neighbours that have y^e like dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r Maties person and governm^t, as these Cittizens here, who are constantly resolved to giue yo^r Matie a magnificent recepc'on, notwthstanding (I heare) there have bene some practises vnderhand to diuert them from that their setled pu'pose.

By y^e Queenes direcc'ons I signified to my Lo: Chamblayne on Satterday last, that yo^r Matie intends to lye at Theobalds Wensday next, to dyne Thursday att y^e Guildhall, & that night to lye att Whitehall, & Friday to goe to Hampton Court. Coll. Goring gaue y^e House of Com'ons good satisfac'con Satterday last touching his fidellity & good affec'cons, and was thereupon dismissed:* The Com'ons have bene in debate about their Declarac'on touching y^e ill effects of bad counsell euer since 12 at

* Goring, in some subsequent transactions, is accused of acting a double part with the King and Parliament. When the troubles broke out, Goring, as Governor of Portsmouth, declared for the King; but that town being unable to sustain a siege, was soon lost to the Royal Cause. Goring then went to France, as Bulstrode says, with the money he had received on both sides, without making good his promises to either." That Author adds that, "if his conscience and integrity had equalled his wit and courage, he had been one of the most eminent men of the age he lived in; but he could not resist temptations, and was a man without scruple, and loved no man so well, but he would cozen him, and afterwards laugh at him." Goring's high command in the Army, and subsequent rise to the Peerage, are supposed to have been occasioned, in a great measure, by the very active assistance which he afforded to the Queen, whilst in France, in procuring both money and arms.

noone, & are at it still, it being now neere 12 at midnight.* I staid this dispatch in hope to have sent yo^r Matie y^e result of that debate, but it is soe late, as I dare not (after my sicknes) adventure to watch any longer to see y^e issue of it; only I assure yo^r Matie there are diverse in y^e Com'ons House, that are resolved to stand very stiff for reiecting that Declarac'on, and if they p^evayle not then to protest against it. That yo^r Matie may have a happy & safe returne † shalbe euer be y^e prayer of

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 22^o No^bris, 1641.

* The debate was not over until three the next morning. Sir Benjamin Rudyard said, that "it looked like the verdict of a starved jury."

† The King did return on the 25th; which closed this portion of the Correspondence; and, it may be here noted, so satisfied was his Majesty with the loyal diligence of Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that on the next day, the 26th of November 1641, he conferred the honour of Knighthood on him at Whitehall; as appears from a MS. List of Knights of that reign in the Harleian Collection, No. 6832. In some old Tracts of that period there are recorded "Five most noble Speeches" spoke to his Majesty by the Mayors of several Cities on his route. The Mayor of York assured him—"Our well-tuned bells at this present time, to congratulate the welcome of so great a Prince, turne themselves, and doe willingly stand, as if Time commanded them soe to doe."—This loyal Magistrate added—"Our wives conceive with joye, our children's tongues are untyed with alacritie, and each one doth strive to cry welcome home to so indulgent

The ELECTOR PALATINE to Mr. BROWNE.

Sir,

Y^{rs} of the $\frac{10}{9}$ past, brought along wth it soe good effects of y^r endeavours in my affaires, as that besides y^r owne assurances & my Resid^t Pawls constant testimonie of y^r assiduity, the contents of what it hath procured in my favour, doth clearely confirme me in confidence, & augment my obligation towards you.

My constant ill fortune hath taught me not to stand at this time much upon formalities wth those whose helpe I need, therefore I must rest satisfied wth what the mentioned letter wants thereof, in hopes it will be supplied wth reallity when it comes to the push.

I thanke you also for y^r good advertisements to Pawel, & am very glad to find by y^r last concerning Mad^{lle} de

a Sovereigne, our fields do seeme triumphing in their gay diapry to welcome home your Sacred Majesty, the woods doe seeme to contenne a falling Autumne or a nipping Winter, and assume unto themselves their Spring liveries, and all to welcome home your most Sacred Majesty."

The Mayor of Stamford, after describing himself as the King's "abject Lieutenant," talked of the loyalty of his fellow citizens, saying that "each would have bin glad to have entertained the place of a speaker;" whilst Huntingdon's right worshipful Magistrate boasted, "that although Rome's Hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs, crocodilicall chiekenes, yet under the shield of Faith, by you our most Royal Sovereigne defended, and by the King of Heavens as I stand and your most medicable counsell, would we not be fearful to withstand them."

Rohan, * the care w^{ch} the King my gracious Vncle hath of those that doe him acceptable service. And soe desiring the continuance of yo^r good offices in w^{ht} still further concerne the good of my interests, I assure you that I shall euer remaine

Y^r most affectionnate frend,

Haghe the 7th of Sept: 1643.

CHARLES.

For Mr. Browne, † Residt to the King of Gr: Britt: att Paris."

Indorsed,

From Pr: El: Palatine 7: Sept. 1643.

* This Lady was only daughter of the Duke de Rohan, one of the great leaders of the Hugonot Party in France; and who signalized himself in the affairs at Rochelle and Isle du Rhe. In Hardwicke's State Papers there is a letter from Sir Henry de Vic to Lord Conway, dated from the Coast of France in 1627, in which she is said to be on the point of marriage with the Count de Soissons; a match which the Duke of Buckingham also describes as most desirable for the Protestant Cause. Vide pages 34, 38, Hardwicke's State Papers.

It was at one time intended by Charles the First that Prince Rupert should marry Mademoiselle de Rohan: and in the Harleian Collection, vol. III. 6988. 86. there is a Letter from the King to Prince Maurice in favour of the match.

The Elector Palatine, the writer of this Letter, returned, soon after this date, into England, where he had long been a pensioner. His Brothers were true to the Royal Cause; but he actually joined the Parliament, and sat in the Assembly of Divines.

† Afterwards Sir Richard.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oxford, 30 Jan: 1644. *

Nicholas, I shall ad nothing to the seuerall good newes you will receave by your fellow Secretairs letter, but the surpryse of Compton House by Sr W. Compton : † & to bid you tell your fellow Comissioners, ‡ that if there be any Treaty proposed concerning Scotland (of w^{ch} I forgott to speake to them at parting) their answer must be, to demand a passeport for a gentleman to goe from me to see what stat the Marquis of Muntrose || is in, there

* There is a long hiatus here in the Correspondence ; evidently arising from the King's return. Nicholas seems to have been constantly attached to his Majesty's person, until his appointment as one of the Commissioners pending this well-known Treaty. The "good news" to which his Majesty refers, may have been the entrance of the Scottish army into England, which took place on the 16th.

† Sir William Compton was third son of the Earl of Northampton. His two elder brothers were also active in the King's service.

‡ These were, Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Hertford, Earls of Southampton, Kingston, Chichester ; Lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, Culpepper ; Sirs Edward Nicholas, Edward Hyde, Richard Lane, Thomas Gardiner, Orlando Bridgman ; Messrs. John Ashburnham, Jeffery Palmer, and Dr. Stewart.

|| Montrose had long been faithful to the King's Cause, though the King had been kept ignorant of it by the artifices of the Marquis of Hamilton ; for though in the beginning of the troubles in Scotland, as far back as 1641, Montrose had joined the Covenanters, yet seeing reason to change his

being no reason, that I should treat blyndefolde in so important a business, nor without the knowledg of him whom I haue now cheefly employed in that Kingdome & who hath undertaken my seruice there, with so much galantry, when no boddy else would: so I rest

Your assured frend,

CHARLES R.

R 31^o Jani. 1644.

His Maties letre to me by Mr. Skipw'th * concerning Scotland during ye Treaty at Uxbridge.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r sacred Matie,

I have herewth sent to yo^r Matie coppies † of such papers as passed betweene yo^r Maties Comission^{rs} here

Oxford 6 Feb.

Heerafter you shall doe well to marke their orders to saue us

politics, and trusting to the weight of his family alliances, he came to England with the loyal intention of rendering all the service in his power to the King. On his arrival at the English Court, Hamilton, so generally accused of deceiving Charles with respect to Scottish affairs, contrived so artfully to throw slights upon Montrose, that the latter returned to the Covenanters; with whom being again disgusted, he wrote to the King, expressing his loyalty and desire of serving him in the strongest terms; but it is asserted that Hamilton took the letter out of his Majesty's pocket, in the night, and sent it to the Covenanters in order to destroy Montrose's character in every quarter.

* Perhaps Fulmar Skipwith, of Newbold Hall, afterwards created a Baronet by Charles II.

† The King's military affairs at this moment were beginning to decline; for both the armies of Essex and Waller had now been augmented by recruits from the Metropolis

the labor to fynde out, w^{ch}che answers w^{ch}, as wel as to send the Papers themselves.

You have done well, but they, barbarusly.

Settle the Weeke-ly dispatches for France with the Portugall Agent, & send me word how.

I haue.

yesterday, & y^e Londoners touching y^e Militia, w^{ch} this afternoone yo^r Maties Com'ission^{rs} are to make appeare to be a power most naturally & legally in yo^r Matie: this morning wee are to observe y^e fast according to yo^r Maties Proclamac'on,* but it must be donne here in y^e Inne, for wee cannot be permitted to have y^e Booke of Com'on Prayer read in y^e church here, & wee resolve not to goe to any church where the Divine service established by law may not be celebrated.

I have made redde the dispatch to y^e King of Portugall, w^{ch} will be tendred to yo^r Matie under my hand. I hope yo^r Matie upon y^e advertisem^t I sent to yo^r Matie & P. Rupert yesterday, hath before this taken order to p^event that Woodstock be not garrison'd as those of London have com'aunded. The Comission^{rs} from London say, that Sr W^m Waller † is marching westward as farre as Winchester, & those partes, wth 6000 men; and

and its vicinity, as well as from other associated Counties. Thus reinforced, these two Parliamentary Generals carried every thing before them, and advanced into Oxfordshire, where they hovered about the King's head-quarters, and kept the Royal Army in constant alarm.

* This fast was appointed by the King, for a blessing on the Treaty then pending at Uxbridge. In the Mercurius Rusticus is a copy of the prayer ordered for the occasion; but as it spoke of the "unnatural War," and prayed the Almighty to "let the truth clearly appear, who those are, which under pretence of the public good do pursue their own private ends," it is not surprizing that obstacles were thrown in the way of its celebration.

† Waller was not a very fortunate General; but he was one of the "Self-denying Ordinance" men. Walker says of him, in the History of Independency, "that he lost two armies, yet was a gainer by the employment."

that there is an army of about 26,000 Scots to come into England att the opening of ye spring: They vapour much att London, but I heare they are much devided amongst themselves. 276. 352. 574. 662. hath 123. 63. 21. 25. 290. 657. 116. 276. 352. 225. 276. 428. offering 163. 300. since 173. 276. 340. 225. 276. Militia, soe as 276. 10. 26. 198. 166. satisfac'on. 278. 225. 626. but I know not ye p'ticlars, having not had tyme to speake wth them concerning their discourse, & when I know it, I shall not rely much upon it. God preserve yo^r Maties person & prosper yo^r designes, soe prayes

Yo^r sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Uxbridge 5^o ffebr: 1644.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

In the King's hand at the bottom of this Letter :

"I should thinke, if in your priuat discourses, (I nowais meane in your publike meetings,) with the London Comissioners, you would put them in mynde that they were arrant Rebelles & that their end must be damnation, ruine, and infamy, except they repented, & founde some way to free themselves from the damnable way they ar in (this Treaty being the aptest) it might doe good; & cheeffly, if Hertford or Southampton would doe it, though I belieue it will haue the owen operation by any of you, well strenthened with arguments: but the more of you that speakes in this dialect the better: This is written not as your Maister but your Frend,

C. R.

Owld Vulpone is not of my opinion, therfor I am not confident concerning this postcrip, but refer my selfe to your

the Sh. of the Exche: Office.

353 : 116 : 276 : 352 : 225 : 276 : 428 : 560.

" For yo^r sacred Matie."

" Yours apostyled."

5 ffebr. 1644.

My Ler to ye King apostyled concerning or proceedings in ye Treaty at Uxbridge.

No Bragges
must stager,
much less alter
you in the way
you ar, in con-
stantly adhering
to Conscience,
Justice, & Hon-
nor.

In this, free deal-
ing is the best.
Conscience is
not to be sould
at any rate: but
if they will helpe
me in the Mili-
tia to purpose,
I will assist them
for their Arears.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oxford 8. Feb: 1644.*

Nicholas, as I haue hitherto approued of your proceedings, so I will nott now censure them: since, upon the place, you may haue founde such reasons as you haue not fully expressed to me: but, to deale freely, I could haue wished, that ye had used more reseruatiō concerning the Militia: for though I could be content to buy Peace at the rate ye haue sett downe, yet ye might haue reserued something to haue beene drawn on by degrees upon debates, w^{ch} me thinkes is a more popular way, then coming at first to the height of your concessions, to leaue your selves nothing but negatiues, in case they should make any approaches to you: And for the tyme, I should thinke a much shorter tyme then three years were sufficient, to secure the performance of conditions, whereas one cannot tell how any men may be tempted, being so long settled in a manner in the Regall Power, to fynde excuses & delayes for the parting with it, besydes the people being once inewred to that way of gouernement may not be so willing to returne to the owld way, as beliuing it of less subjection then Monarchicall: So I rest

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

If you be pressed to giue a positiue answer concerning Scotland, remember to follow the directions I gaue you in that particular.

Indorsed, R. 9^o ffebr. 1644.

* The points referred to in this Letter require no historical illustration; but the Letter itself is a most remarkable document with respect to the private history of the Negotiations at Uxbridge.

The KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oxford 11 Feb. 1644.

Nicholas, the directions I gaue you concerning sending to Muntrose, I meane only should extend to those things w^{ch} meerly concerne Scotland, so if that wer the only case, it would be no hinderance to you for what concernes the Militia: but I doe not yet conceaue, how I can giue way, that ether of my Kingdomes should haue a hand in the gouernement of the other, without breache of trust to eather: yet in this I doe not so restraine you (so that ye still keepe the number, that I shall nominat, at least equall to the other, & enlarge upon no other points) but leaue it to your discretions what to doe, in case you shall fynde a Peace may be gotten by it: But as for those things w^{ch} meerly concernè Scotland, I sticke close to my former order of sending to Muntrose, not being ashamed to auow that I shall be much guyd by what I shall heare from him, & should be much more ashamed to treat in those things, without at least communicating with him, who hath hazarded so freely and generously for me,

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

11^o febr. 1644. R. 12.

His Maties concerning Scotland.

The KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, concerning the answers to the King of Denmarke & D: of Courland, Digby shall giue you my directions. As for the draught of the paper for Mondayes con-

ference, I lyke it well, & for the critesisme I haue made upon it for the change of the tence, is only that ye should seeme to agree concerning the Militia of Scotland, before that of England were settled: lyking so well what ye haue already done touching that article, that I com'and you not to vary a jott from the substance of it, unlesse it (be) to enlarge my power, or shorten the tyme: as concerning a safe-conduct for a messenger to Scotland, I meerly intend it for those things, w^{ch} only concernes that kingdome: to w^{ch} I am still constant, leauing you to your Christian liberty, to what shall reciprocally concerne bothe; but, by your fauors, I understand not, how any demand can breake off a treaty, indeed insisting upon some, may doe prittely that way. At this tyme I haue no more to say: but, goe not a title lesse concerning Religion & Churche-gouernement, & soe I rest

Your assured friend,

Oxford 15 ffeb: 1644.

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

R: 16^o febr. 1644.

The King concerning the Scots being for the Militia
of England.

(A FRAGMENT.)

Oxford 17 Feb. 1644.

Memoriall for Se: Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Vxbridge.

1. First for Religion & Churche Gouvernement, I will not goe one jott further, than what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the Militia, more then what ye haue allowed by me: but, euen in that, ye must obserue, that I must

haue free nomination of the full halfe; as, if the totall number Scots and all, bee Thirty, I name Fiuetene; yet if they (I meane the Englishe Rebelles) will be so base as to admitt of Ten Scots, to Twenty Englishe, I am content to name Fiue Scots and Tenn Englishe: and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreeede on.

3. As for gaining of particular Persons: besydes Securitie, I giue you power, to promis them Rewards for performed seruices, not sparing to egage (engage) for places, so they be not of great trust, or to be taken away from honnest men in possession: but as much profit as you will: with this last, you ar only to acquaint Richemond, Southampton, Culpeper, & Hyde.

Indorsed, "R. 17^o febr: 1644. The Kings Memoriall concerning Religion and Militia during ye Treaty at Uxbridge."

The KING to Prince RUPERT.

Nepueu,

Ticknill* 14 June 1644.

First I must congratulate with you, for yo^r good successes, assuring you, that the things themselues ar no more

* Tickenhall, near Bewdley. Whilst Charles was here, he paid a formal visit to Bewdley, previous to which the Corporation met to determine upon the mode of receiving the Royal visit. The charges are entered upon the Town Books; and it appears that the sum of two shillings was expended in repairing the Corporation Pew in the Church, and sixpence for sweeping out that sacred edifice; making in all, the grand total of two shillings and sixpence sterling!

In a very minute account of the King's affairs at this period, written by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, and pre-

welcom to me, then that you are the meanes. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for w^{ch} I haue taken all possible wayes, having sent both to Ireland & Bristoll. As from Oxford this bearer is well satisfyd that

served in the Harleian Collection, No. 4229, it is stated that the King arrived at Bewdley on the 12th; after having made that very arduous and judicious retreat from Oxfordshire, in which he evaded the pursuit of both Essex and Waller, by forced marches over the country between Witney and Worcester, along what is now the Cheltenham road. The march upon Bewdley is said, by Sir Edward, to have been made with the intent of saving Worcester from a siege, of drawing Waller further from London, and also of enticing him into a difficult country, where the King's army, then without artillery or heavy baggage, might have considerable advantages over him. Waller, however, avoided the western side of the Severn, and fixed his head-quarters at Bromsgrove, contenting himself with advancing a small body of horse to Kidderminster, the "Foreign" of which town, as it is called, reaches to the eastern end of Bewdley Bridge. The King's foot were all in Bewdley on the 14th, and the horse quartered along the Severn towards Bridgenorth.

The King was so much aware of the delicacy of his situation at this moment, that on the day preceding the date of this letter, he had formed a Council of War, directing them to meet every day and report their proceedings in respect to forming a plan of retreat, either into Wales or upon Shrewsbury; and on this day the Council and King determined to retreat back to Worcester, and so on to Evesham. He was closely followed by Waller; but, immediarely after this date, eluded him so far as to reach Daventry before him, and finally defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge on the 29th of June.

At the date of this letter the King had got intelligence that York was besieged by the Scottish army (just before the battle

it is impossible to haue at present, but if he tell you that I may spare them from hence, I leaue you to iudge, hauing but 36 left: but what I can get from Bristoll (of w^{ch} there is not much certainty, it being threatned to be besieged) you shall haue.

But now I must giue you the trew state of my affaires, w^{ch} if their condic'on be such as enforces me to giue you more peremptory com'ands then I would willingly doe, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteeme my Crowne little lesse, vnless supported by yo^r suddain march to mee, & a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of the northern power can be found here: but if York be relieved, and you beat the Rebels armies of both kingdomes w^{ch} are before it; then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (vpon the defensive) to spin out time, vntill you come to assist me: Wherefore I com-

of Marston Moor), which was also joined by Fairfax and Lord Manchester; this explains the military orders here given, which are perfectly in consonance with the existing accounts of Prince Rupert's conduct previous to that battle. It may be remarked, however, that Bulstrode, as well as others, brings an accusation against Rupert for fighting the Rebel forces after raising the siege; but the express words of the King imply a desire not only for the relief of York, but also for a battle with the enemy, else why did he allude to "beating the Rebel armies" as a means of enabling him to spin out time? This is a most important fact in the history of the Civil Wars; for the Marquis of Newcastle, and other General Officers, were so disgusted with the Prince for fighting, against or without orders as they supposed, that they left England immediately, going to Hamburg, and thereby the whole of the north and loyal Yorkshire were lost to the Royal Cause!

mand & coniure you by the duety & affecc'on w^{ch} I know you beare me, that (all new enterprises layd aside) you immediatly march (according to yo^r first intention) with all yo^r force to the reliefe of York: but if that be either lost, or haue freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot vndertake that work: that you immediatly march with your whole strength to Worcester, to assist me and my army, without w^{ch}, or yo^r having releived York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards haue, most infallibly wilbe vselesse vnto me. You may beleive that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus vnto you, wherefore, in this case, I can no wayes doubt of your punctuall compliance with

Yo^r loving Oncle & most faithfull friend,

CHARLES R.

I commanded this bearer to speake to you concerning Vauasor.

(Copy.)

At a Councell at Oxford, 5^o December 1644. Present

The Kings most excellent Matie,

Prince Rupert	Lo: Chamberlaine
Prince Maurice	Ea: of Berks
Lord Keeper	Ea: of Sussex
Lord Treasurer	Ea: of Chichester
Lo: Duke of Richmond	Lo: Digby
Lo: Marq ^s Hertford	Lo: Seymour
Lo: Great Chamb'laine	Lo: Culpeper
Ea: of South'ton	Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Chanc^r of y^e Excheq^r.

A Letter being then read written by y^e Earle of Essex to his Highness Prince Rupert Generall of his Ma^t's Armyes in these words,

“ Sr,

There being a message sent from his Mat^{ie} by y^e Com-mittess of both kingdomes that were lately at Oxon concerning a safe-conduct for y^e Duke of Richmond & E. of South'ton without any direc'con : I am commanded by both Houses of Parliament to give yo^r Highnesse notice, That if y^e King bee pleased to desire a safe conduct for y^e Duke of Richmond & y^e Ea: of South'ton wth their attendants from y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliam^t of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England, and y^e Commission^{rs} of y^e kingdome of Scotland now at London, an answer to the Propositions presented to his Mat^{ie} for a safe and well grounded peace, it shalbee graunted.—This is all I haue at present to trouble youre Highnesse, being

Yo^r Highness humble Servant,

3^o Decemb. 1644.

ESSEX.”

Which Letter and y^e expressions therein being fully considered & debated, it was by the whole Councell vnanimously resolved, That his Mat^{ies} desire of a safe-conduct in y^e termes expressed in that Letter, would not bee any acknowledgment or concession of y^e members of y^e two Houses sitting at Westminster to bee a Parliament, nor any wayes prejudice his Majesties cause,

Whereupon his Mat^{ie} declaring openly at y^e Board, that since such was their Lo^{ps} opinion, that hee did therefore and (*eo animo*) consent thereunto. And accordingly his Mat^{ie} desired his Highnesse Prince Rupert, as his Mat^{ies} Generall, to retorne this answer :

“ My Lord,

I am commanded by his Matie to desire of yo^r Lo^p a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Ea: of South'ton wth their attendants, coaches and horses, and other accomodac'ons for their journey in their coming to London, during their stay, and in their returne when they shall thinke fit from y^e Lords and Com'ons assembled in y^e Parliament of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England and y^e Commission^{rs} of y^e Parliament of Scotland now at London an answer to y^e propositions presented to his Matie for a safe and well-grounded peace. Resting

Yo^r Lo^{ps} Servant,

Oxon. 5th Decembr^r 1644.

RUPERT.”

Which said answer was accordingly sent to London by a Trumpeter.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The following is in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.

Memorandum: that the King and myself of all the Councill Boorde were the only persons that concurred not in opinion; that it was fitt to call those sitting at Westm^r a Parliam^t. P. Rupert thought he were p^{esent} did not vote, because he was to execute what should be resolved on by this Councill; but by the orderr & practice of the Councill Boorde, if the maior part agree to any act or order, all the Councillors that were p^{esent} att the debate, albeit they dissented are involved, and are to be named as if they consented.—E. N.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hemly Hall,* 16 May, 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued, & thanke you for your seu-
rall dispatches, but haue no newes to send you in recom-
pence to yours, nor expect to sende you any untill we shall
come to ^{sum'on Chester} 488 : ^{designe} 338 : wch is our first ^{designe} 361 : being not yet
resolved whether to goe afterward: † I am glad you goe so
well on wth your ^{provisions} 448 : 54 : 74 : & hope you will take as
great care that you be not disturbed by mutinous people :
this is all at this tyme from

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

^{Crown L^s:} Let hencefoorth the 337 . signefy ^c 1 : ^o 40 : ⁿ 30 : ^t 70 : ^r 33 : ⁱ 23 :
^b 50 : ^u 71 : ^t 24 : ⁱ 40 : ^o 31 : ⁿ 73 : & ^{Portland} 447 : ^p 74 : ^a 47 : ^p 10 : ⁱ 48 : ⁱ 25 :
^s 53 : ^t 72 : 75.

Being newly come hither to Bisberry, † I haue certaine
intelligence that Sr John Pryce, being Gouvernor & in Mun-
gomery Castell, is declared, & houlds it for me.

16^o Maij 1645. R: 21^o.

The King to me.

* In Staffordshire, the seat of Lord Dudley.

† On the day following the date of this Letter measures were taken by the Parliament for the siege of Oxford; for the Commons, on the 17th of May, sent a message to the Lords, to let their Lordships know "that the House of Commons, out of a desire to put an end to this miserable war, do think it fit that siege be laid to the City of Oxford, for the taking it, it being the centre of our troubles."

† Bibury in Oxfordshire.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

Chetwin, 18 May 1645.

I receaved yours of the 16. this morning, to w^{ch} I haue litle to answer but to thanke you for your often aduerticements,* & to tell the Marquis Winchester that he recompence his woode losse out of Wallops: † for newes I refer you to your fellow Secretair & frend, the generall being, that we are (God be thanked) all well & in hart, the Rebelles hauing twyce offered to beate up some of our quarters, but wth losse to themselues: I desyre to know how you goe on in your recuting [recruiting] & fortifications, as well as you haue satisfied me concerning your prouisions: So desyring you to send thease inclosed to 454: I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

(Address) "for your selfe."

Indorsed; 18^o Maij. 1645. R. 21^o. The King to me.

* It was, however, the King's intention about this period, to have done more for Sir Edward than mere thanks; for in a letter to the Queen, dated on the 27th of March, intercepted and published by the Parliament, he says, "As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards; for Cottington had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secr. Nich. if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it."

† Evidently in reference to the sequestrations inflicted upon that gallant and loyal nobleman.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Wiston,* 4 June 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued yours, of the 30 : May, this morning, none of yours hauing yet miscarried: but I would not answer any of them myselfe ^{untill} 292 : ^I 287 : 177 : were ^{marching} 307 : ^{towards} 222 : 182 : ^{you} 273 : 36 : 10 : 33 : 20 : 53 : 73 : 313 : ^{w^hout} 75 : 298 : ^{any thing} 232 : ^{else} thinking of 92 : 285 : 74 : 44 : 4 : 54 : ^{before} 45 : ^{I haue} 76 : 105 : 134 : 46 : 77 : 177 : ^{ed} 157 reliu 133 : 78 : ^{you yet I must} 313 : 312 : 177 : 212 : ^{freely wth} deale 376 : 203 : 79 : 298 : 313 : ^{you that my army} 283 : 17 : 84 : 83 : ^{being not} 325 : is so weake (105 : 182 : 226 : ^{4000 foote & scarce} 70 : 80 : 143 : 497 : 375 : 93 : 81 : 55 : 112 : 53 : ^{horse as I} 45 : 82 : 3500 : 174 : 73 :) 95 : 177 : 74 : 54 : 14 : ^{shall vn to relieu} 11 : 4 : 6 : 73 : 292 : willingly hazard 273 : 33 : 46 : 5 : ^{Oxon before Lo. Goring†} 23 : 60 : 57 : 436 : 105 : 134 : 382 : 234 : 75 :

* There are several places of this name; but it seems probable that the Wiston here meant is in Nottinghamshire.

† Goring at this period was engaged in the siege of Taunton, and had been ordered, as Bulstrode asserts, by letters from the King, to quit that place and join his Majesty, who was afraid, just before the battle of Naseby, that the enemy might be too powerful for him. Bulstrode says that he wrote the General's reply, in which Charles was urged to act upon the defensive until Taunton should be taken; but this writer hints some strong suspicions of Goring being actuated by sinister views. The whole passage is curious. Vide Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 124. Edit. 1721.

or Garrarde be joyned to
 7 : 12 : 34 : 33 : 44 : 105 : 76 : 184 : 31 : 45 : 21 :
 me an absolute
 273 : 221 : except such 13 : 32 : 77 : 10 : 50 : 53 :
 necessity
 40 : 4 : 61 : 70 : 46 : 78 : 32 : 57 : 1 : 44 : 54 : 55 :
 that Oxon wilbe lost
 45 : 71 : 85 : 283 : 436 : 305 : 105 : 79 : 4 : 42 : 53 :
 if not by such a day,
 72 : 183 : 226 : 70 : 78 : relined 106 : 267 : 11 : 123 :
 wherfore as you love my
 302 : 134 : 97 : 313 : 5 : 43 : 63 : 44 : 80 : 18 : 86 :
 p^eservation use
 81 : 243 : 54 : 45 : 33 : 62 : 11 : 70 : 185 : 82 : 291 :
 of prolonging
 46 : 83 : all possible meanes 233 : 244 : 196 : 182 :
 yo^r provisions though it be by chasing
 314 : 448 : 55 : 77 : 286 : 178 : 105 : 106 : 78 : 2 : 14 :
 out all people
 13 : 54 : 182 : 232 : 90 : unnecessary 47 : 44 : 40 : 48 :
 who haue not prouision for
 6 : 45 : 304 : 157 : 226 : 71 : 79 : 448 : 134 : 281 :
 themselves & stinting
 19 : 53 : 46 : 5 : 57 : 54 : 74 : 93 : 75 : 55 : 70 :
 D. of Yorke not
 24 : 30 : 71 : 182 : euery one (117 : 233 : 512 : 226 :
 ed to a small
 72 : except 133) 273 : 73 : 10 : 74 : 53 : 17 : 11 :
 proportion of
 4 : 44 : 77 : 214 : 47 : 40 : 33 : 70 : 185 : 78 : 233 :
 meate euery day &
 221 : 12 : 71 : 45 : 79 : 129 : 86 : 80 : 123 : 93 :
 doe not me to you
 118 : 45 : 226 : 72 : 81 : hasten 221 : 273 : 313 :
 wthout very very
 298 : 232 : 294 : 74 : 60 : 44 : 33 : 84 : 74 : abso-
 necessity for
 lute 30 : 46 : 3 : 45 : 53 : 55 : 23 : 70 : 85 : 83 : 73 :
 upon the faith of a
 134 : 293 : 235 : 281 : 137 : 233 : 75 : 10 : 76 : 1 :
 Christian noe tyme
 14 : 33 : 23 : 53 : 70 : 24 : 11 : 30 : 77 : 226 : 498 :

shall ^{be} 105 : ^{lost} 78 : 5 : 40 : 54 : ^{for} 72 : 134 : ^{yo^r} 314 : ^{succour} 488 : 78 :
 16 : ^{how} 41 : ^{soone} 36 : 266 : 235 : 45 : ^{it} 79 : 178 : ^{may} 209 : ^{be} 105 :
 121 : ^{donne wh^h} 298 : ^{any} 92 : probability ^{of} 233 : ^{not} 226 : 71 : 73 :
 16 : ^{hazarding} 12 : 56 : 13 : 34 : 20 : 182 : ^{like} 199 : 77 : mad
 men ; which ^I 177 : shall ^{stay} 55 : 72 : 10 : ^{at} 86 : 94 :
 74 : ^{Harborow} 15 : 11 : 34 : 50 : 43 : 35 : 39 : (^{weh} 299 : ^{is} 178 :
 17 : ^{my} 84 : ^{morrows} 216 : ^{march)} 41 : 38 : 55 : 222 :) ^{some} 262 : ^{tyme} 498 : ^{to} 273 :
 75 : 8 : 12 : ^{gather} 281 : ^{up} 34 : 293 : straglers [&] 93 : ^{to} 273 : ^{make} 219 :
 448 : ^{provision} 273 : ^{to} 486 : ^{supply} 313 : ^{you} 134 : ^{for} 90 : ^{this} 282 : ^{service} 318 : & then
 wee shall ^{march} 222 : 76 : 64 : ^{faster} 11 : 53 : 70 : 44 : ^{or} 33 : 234 :
 77 : ^{slower.} 54 : 5 : 42 : 307 : according to intelligence. So
 I rest Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed, 4^o Junij 1645, "the Kg to me."

** The decyphering is in the hand-writing of Sir Edward
 Nicholas.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

Daintry, 9 June 1645.

I have receaved so many letters from you, that I beline
 none of them ar miscaried,* & this morning one from you

* The fact is, however, that Charles's general correspondence
 was, at this time, much interrupted ; for the letter of Goring,
 already alluded to, was intercepted by Fairfax, and induced
 the Rebel Commanders to bring the King to action at Naseby,
 before he could be joined by the army from the West.

of the 7. & wth it one of the same date from all my Comissioners except Southampton and Dorset by w^{ch} I perceave they were not so much stressed by the siege as the rest: but the cheefe end of this is, by you to send this inclosed to 454 : tell 394 : that I have receaved ^{his} 165 of the $\frac{16}{26}$ of May but would not stay this messenger untill it was desyfered: I will say no more now, but if we peripatetiques get no more mischances then you Oxfordians * ar lyke to haue this somer, we may all expect probably a merry winter. So I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

“ For your selfe.”

9o Junij. 1645. R. 10o. His Matie l^{tr} to me.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

Daintry, 11 June 1645.

As I thanke you for aduerticing me, so I much wonder
 at the letter & message
 94 : 281 : 204 : 93 : 221 : 53 : 55 : 10 : 7 : 44 : 73 :
 w^{ch} the Lords brought
 299 : 281 : 406 : 54 : 74 : 50 : 33 : 40 : 60 : 8 : 14 :
 me, that the Councill
 70 : 75 : 221 : for you know 283 : 281 : 351 : 76 : 36 :

* A letter written by his Majesty, on this day, to the Queen, was intercepted by the emissaries of the Parliament. In it he assured her that the Rebels had been forced to raise the siege of Oxford, in consequence of his march after the taking of Leicester; and that quarrels were then very frequent between Fairfax's and Cromwell's soldiers. He also observed that his affairs never were in so hopeful and so fair a way; adding, in the tenderest manner, that all he wished for, in case of eventual success, was the undisturbed enjoyment of her society!

was neuer wont
 11 : 53 : 77 : 30 : 129 : 78 : 37 : 40 : 31 : 71 : 79 :
 to debate
 273 : 80 : 20 : 45 : 51 : 12 : 23 : 72 : 46 : upon any
 matter : 226 : 70 : 81 : 244 : 249 : 133 : 273 : 281 :
 by King it were
 17 : 82 : 106 : y^e 398 : & certainly 178 : 307 : a strange
 thing if my marching Army
 285 : 183 : 83 : 18 : 84 : 222 : 182 : 325 (espetically
 I being at the head of them
 94 : 281 : 173 : 233 : 281 : 19 : and) should
 be gouerned by my sitting
 106 : 73 : 17 : 85 : 74 : 53 : 24 : 70 : 122 :
 Councell at Oxon when
 351 : 94 : 436 : the 303 : it is scarce fitt for my selfe
 at such a distance
 94 : 267 : 11 : 124 : 71 : 12 : 31 : 1 : 45 : to give
 any positie Order
 47 : 43 : 53 : 26 : 70 : 25 : 63 : 57 : 439 : & in-
 deed it added to my wonder that
 39 : 42 : 30 : 20 : 44 : 33 : 283 :
 Vulpone could not hinder
 109 : 226 : 72 : 73 : 14 : 23 : 30 : 21 : 45 :
 this
 34 : 282 : as the Gouvernor tould me he did such an other
 indiscreete motion
 181 : 124 : 2 : 35 : 25 : 71 : 46 : 74 : 17 : 41 : 72 :
 185 : but few dayes agoe: howeuer I desyre you to take
 the best care you may that the like of this
 281 : 199 : 233 : 282 : 105 :
 be not done
 226 : 71 : 77 : 121 : with heerafter ; of wch I will say
 no more, hauing freely & fully spoken of it to 406 : 16 :
 Lord Hatton
 13 : 70 : 72 : 43 : 32 : to whom I refer you, & rest

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

The Gouvernor hath earnestly desyred me to thanke
 Vulpone and your selfe for the great assistance ye haue

giuen him in my absence, w^{ch} I hartely doe, desyring you to continew so; for I fynde he will haue need of all helpes.

R: 14^o Junii. 1645. The King to me concerning the l'tres sent his Matie by the Councill when he was at Daintree.

The KING to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

*Lubnam, 13 June 1645.

Nicholas, this is first to send this inclosed by your meanes
 to ^{the} 70 : ^{Queene} 454 : 240 : then to lett you know you ar like to
 heare of me tomorrow.† I marche to ^{Land} 4 : 10 : 30 : 20 :
 11 : ^{Abay} 50 : 12 : 84 : 82 : after that to ^{Melton} 17 : 44 : 5 : 70 :
 40 : 31 : & so to ^{Belvoir} 51 : 45 : 6 : 60 : 42 : 23 : 33 : but
 I assure you that I shall looke before I leape farther 32 :
^{North} 43 : 34 : 72 : 14 : 73 : but I am going to supper, so
 I rest Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

Woluerhampton 17 June.

This was written befor the Bataile.

“ For your selfe.”

17^o Junii 1645. The King to me before ye Battaile of Naisby.

* In Leicestershire. This Letter, as noted by Sir Edward Nicholas, was written on the very day before the battle of Naseby.

† The “inclosed” Letter is not in the possession of the Editor; but, on a comparison of dates and facts, it appears to have contained the news of the capture of Leicester. It was at midnight, after this Letter was written, that a Council was held in the King’s tent, and a resolution taken to give battle to the

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.*

Nicholas, I thanke you for the freedom you haue used in
 your letters to me, & as for ^{the} 281 : ^{ill} 23 : 4 : ^{intelligence} 6 : 395 : 105 :
^{betwixt} 70 : 36 : 24 : 87 : ^{my} 71 : ^{Soldiers} 73 : 17 : 84 : 484 : 53 : I be-
 lieue I haue found the bottom of it, & haue put such a
 remedy to it, as hope heereafter to haue little troble that
 way: and am confident, that there is 226 : 288 : 113 :
 233 : 487 : with 10 : 153 : 55 : 72 : 382 : 93 : 414 :
^{fancies}
 104 : 477 : 165 : 295 : 76 : 64 : 11 : 30 : 1 : 26 : 44 :
 54 : for this I haue very good ground; but now I desyre
 to know who ar the melaucolly men amongst you, that is to
 say if any dispare of our business, (for we heere thinke that
 we had so much the better, as we might spare them thus
 much & yet be upon equall termes,) & in particular what
^{Southampton}
 478 : 421 : 385 : 93 : 406 : 54 : 45 : 18 : 46 : 34 :
 thinkes of my present affaires: I haue so good hopes of my
 Welshe leauies that I dout not but (by the grace of God)

enemy: but it also appears by this Letter, that when Charles retired to rest on that night, he had no intention of adopting those measures which, recommended by a *midnight Council*, proved the entire ruin of his affairs.

* This Letter is without date of place; but it, and several of the subsequent ones, mark the King's route between the battle of Naseby and his arrival at Newark; a space of time during which Bulstrode describes him as "flying from place to place, not well knowing which way to turn himself." It is evident, however, that he had specific plans in view; on account of which he visited Wales, Shropshire, and afterwards Huntingdon and Yorkshire, before he proceeded to Newark.

to be in the head of a greater Army within this two monthes,
then any I haue seene this yeare, & so I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

This is in my owld cyfer to show I haue not lost it; send
this inclosed where you use to doe.

“ For your selfc.”

R: 8^o July 1645. The Kg to me.

Prince RUPERT to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Sir,

I sent you word by Col^l Terringham that I had receaved
your letter by this woman, so alsoe the unfortunat losse of
brige Watter, sence w^{ch} I heare noe sertay'ty of the Enemy's
motions. there is a shippe landed at dartmouth laden

with 200 bar ^l of powder and store of arms.	If	Fairfax							
	209	:	474	:					
advance					speedily		to	us	
53	:	76	:	33	:	99	:	10	:
					40	:	343	:	40
							225	:	347
Wee		shall		bee			to	quit	Bath
369	:	28	:	87	:	97	:	110	:
					forced		76	:	347
									308
									437
for	want		of	men	and	victualls			
13	:	54	:	81	:	50	:	278	:
							248	:	100
									616
									30
527	:	but	if	604	:	91	:	183	:
					hee	give	us		time
						174	:	363	:
									20
									51
									17
38	:	43	:	369		shall	doe	well	
					125	:	373	:	273
									158
									—I heare
but little from G ^l Goring.*					Prince	Charles	is	at	
						544	:	280	:
									207
									101
									4

* Goring had been defeated by Fairfax, on the 10th of this month, at Suttonfield, near Bridgewater, which town surrendered to the Parliament on the 23d. Colonel Windham, the Governor, made a gallant defence, for he had been educated in principles of rational loyalty. Some years afterwards, when he assisted Charles the Second in his escape, he told the King,

Pendennis Castle that Sr
 140 : 40 : 79 : 207 : 96 : 452 : it is reported 354. 431.
 Jo: Berkly hath giuen five hundred to some I know
 190. 174. 81. 153. 204. 158. 347. 328. body 205. 218.
 for to stop Prince Charles* from coming
 —148. 347. 30. 50. 27. 6. 40. 544. 160. 119. 208. 66.
 to Exeter.
 347. 470. I doubt we shall shortly see the mistery of this.†
 Sir R. Grenville‡ y^e only souldier in the West is
 482. 353. 282. 225. 594. 208. 353. 371. 207. 76. dis-

that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons : “ My children,” said he, “ we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns ; but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, *do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown. I charge you never to forsake the Crown, though it should hang upon a bush.*” Hume’s England, vol. VII. p. 199. edit. 1812.

* Charles (the Prince) had first been under the tuition of the Marquis of Newcastle, afterwards of the Marquis of Hertford ; also of Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury. His education, latterly, was at Oxford, of which University the Marquis of Hertford was Chancellor.

† Berkeley was high in the Prince of Wales’s confidence about the time of this “ mystery ”—for when Goring complained of the proceedings of the Prince’s Council, Berkeley was sent, along with Sir Hugh Pollard and Colonel Ashburnham, to hold a private conference with him on the subject.

‡ Sir Richard Grenville was soon after proposed to command the foot in the Army of the West, when the insubordination of the troops, through the misconduct of Lord Wentworth, rendered some new arrangements absolutely necessary. But Grenville, contrary to expectation, refused to act ; and he was therefore sent prisoner to the Castle in Mount’s Bay, where

& is at his owne house
 contented 78. 40. 77. 90. 100. 207. 101. 184. 284. 85.
 y^e King will
 24. 33. 28. 43. wch he will defend. What 499. 371.
 doe I know not. Lo: Digby s word (parterased) I
 125. 205. 218. 267. 456. send. 28. 13. 76. 40. or 205.
 shall as on as some
 30. 85. 97. 108. 102. so 2. 82. 90. 102. 328. speculation
 s are brought to
 30. 20. 31. 98. 71. 44. 24. 36. 66. 87. 50. 20. 347. 301.
 proiection
 16. 40. 10. 50. 211. 604. 341. Pray god this prove well.
 Just as I am writing I heare that the Scots Army is
 280. 353. 592. 427. 207.
 past betweene Monmouth
 4. 102. 50. 20. 110. 50. 369. 80. 40. 37. 24. 81. 39.
 & Abergainy
 27. 36. 51. 87. 90. 97. 53. 61. 44. 177. 41. 94. 31.
 this inclosed is conserning the commissioners of asseise,
 whoe are soe bond up by the members att Oxford that noe
 thing canbe issued wthout their consent; if they were but
 soe farr trusted as that, in such case as now we are in,
 (when we need powder and provisions) monys might be
 issued from thence to such uses as shall be most necessary
 for his Maties service in the guarison, I shall be accountable
 that none shall be desired by me wthout there be a great
 necessity. I pray lett me have a speedy answer, wch will
 infenetly oblige

Your most faithfull frend,

RUPERT.

Bristol 27 of July.

27^o July 1645. Rec. 31. P^{re} Rupert to me.

he remained until the successes of the Parliament Army in that quarter induced the Prince, lest he should fall into their hands, to permit him to transport himself to the Continent.

PRINCE RUPERT TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Sir,

As I told you our resolution in my last by the woman
 we are ced to quit Bath. The King for
 369 : 98. for-138. 347. 308. 437. 499. intends 148. 592.

designe :

a fine 459. you may be sure that I have hand in it, for I
 have this from others : this is alle our news : pray write
 often to us ; I have received but one expresse from you,
 the rest were by messengers of my owne. So I rest

Yo^r most faithfull frend,Bristoll 29th of July.

RUPERT.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Cardife 4 Aug. 1645.

Nicholas, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary* to
 giue you a full accont as well of our proceedings heere, as
 resolutions ; I will nether trouble you nor my selfe with re-
 petitions : only for my selfe I must desyre you to lett euery
 one know, that no distresse of fortune whatsoever shall euer
 make me (by the grace of God) in any thing receade from
 those grounds I layed doune to you, who were my Comis-
 sioners at Uxbridge ; & w^{ch} (I thanke them) the Rebelles
 haue published in print : & though I could haue wished
 that paines had beene spaired, yet I will nether deny that
 those things ar myne, w^{ch} they haue sett out in my name,
 (only some words heere & there mistaken, & some com'as
 misplaced, but not much materiall) nor, as a good Pro-
 testant, or honnest man, blushe for any of those papers ;

* Lord Digby.

indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justefy my selfe: & yet I would faine know him, who would be willing that the freedome of all his priuat letters were publiquely seene, as myne haue now beene; howsoever, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take theire fortunes; it is, concerning the Mungrill Parliament: the trewth is, that Sussex * factiousness, at that tyme, put me somewhat out of patience, w^{ch} made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my Wyfe, & the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by theire raising and fomenting of basse propositions: this is cleerely euenced by my following excuse to her for suffring those people to trouble her, the reason being, to eschew those greater in-conueniences w^{ch} they had & wer more lykly to cause heere, then there. I am going to supper, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

I have reaued (received) your new cyfer as for example,
^{my} 224 : ^(erased) 302 : 181 : ⁱⁿ 176 : ^{that} 276 : 14 : 54 : 11 : 308 : 216 :
 17 : 1 : 181 : 72 : 232 : 18 : 35 : 2 : 50 : 151 : 51 :
 60 : 316 : 110 : 168 : Husbands ^{comaund} 346 : ^{w^{ch}} 398 : 316 : 98 :
^{you} 290 : ^{are} 295 : ^{to} 86 : ^{use} 70 : according ^{to} 290 : ^{the} 277 : ^{nature} 225 : 19 :
 43 : 3 : 37 : 80 : ^{of} 231 : ^{the} 277 : ^{thing} 280 :

Indorsed, Cardiff 4^o Aug: 1645. R. 10. The King to me concerning the Mungrill P'liam't.

* Thomas Lord Saville, recently created Earl of Sussex.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Bridgenorthe, 9 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, this morning I received yours of the 30: July, w^{ch} requyres no answer but thanks for your often aduertisments: & particularly for those w^{ch} ar of most freedome, in answer to w^{ch} I shall desyre you, (with the like freeness)

to take heed that 358 : 51 : 376 : 53 : 210 : 229 : 17 :
 most of suspicion (erased) for I
 50 : 220 : 231 : 277 : 511 : against 401 : 147 : 174 :
 cannot con from you that Digby
 111 : 229 : 18 : 115 : ceale : 148 : 316 : 276 : 358 :
 (erased) * and all that
 39 : 31 : 19 : 35 : 53 : perfectly 453 : 96 : 94 : 276 :
 are beleaved to be his friends
 98 : 104 : 202 : 83 : 290 : 104 : 170 : particular 376 : 52 :
 & I assure you that there is no
 276 : 277 : 1 : 36 : 60 : 181 : 229 : 124 :
 dispatch yet come to me from
 72 : 32 : 17 61 : 41 : 315 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 148 :

401 : For newes, I refer you to your friends, only I must
 tell you that to morrow I intend to march to Lichfield &
 403 : 96 :
 soe to Newarke y^e next day; but if y^e
 266 : 290 : 437 : 277 : 227 : 524 : 109 : 175 : 277 :
 Irish be come
 78 : 2 : 79 : 51 : 42 : 104 : 116 : of w^{ch} I haue good
 then I turne to Chester
 hope 277 : 27 : 174 : shall 17 : 43 : 3 : 28 : 37 : 290 :
 340. My last was from Cardife, w^{ch} was written in such
 haste that I forgot to bid you send me word (w^{ch} now I
 earnestly desyre you not to forget to doe) how my printed
 letters ar, & haue been, sensured at Oxford, by the seuerall

* These figures are decyphered by Sir Edward Nicholas, but erased with a pen; yet may in part be restored.

sorts of people, according to their dyuerse humors; this is all at this tyme from

Your most assured friend,
CHARLES R.

In the voide place of your last cyfer at the end of the W^s of the hindermost alfabet I haue filled it, with the word *want*: lykewais the two others at the end of the Y^s with *yesternight & yonder*.

9^o Aug: 1645. R. 16^o. The King to me from Bridgenorth.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Doncaster, 18 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue sent this bearer expressly to giue you a particular account of my present condition, we^{ch} considering what it was at the beginning of this monthe, is now (I thanke God) miraculously good; and indeed the gentlemen in these partes shewes themselves really affectionat & harty in my service: acting cherfully (without any grumbling) what I desyre. Now I expect, not only that (lyke ants) you haue plentifully prouyded your selves for winter, but lykewais that you so recrute your selves in men & armes, that it may be a lusty stocke for a next years army: So I rest,

Your assured friend,
CHARLES R.

As I haue com'aded my Sone to comend me to all the Laydis, so you must to all the Lords my friends, & particularly to Vulpone, & tell the Gouvernor that he has forgotten that he sent me a cyfer.

Doncaster 18^o Aug. 1645. R. 23. The King to me.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Huntingtoun 25 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue this morning receaued yours of the 13: Aug: with fower printed Oxford Papers concerning my published Letters, & am glad to fynde that you there make so faire (indeed just, as concerning my religion, kingdomes & frends) an interpretation of them, & particularly that you haue so great a confidence in my constancy to my just cause: and now me thinkes I wer too blame if I did not justifie the trewth of your opinions concerning me, by my owen declaration, w^{ch} is this, that let my condition be neuer so low, my successes neuer so ill, I resolue (by the grace of God) neuer to yeald up this Church to the gouernement of Papists, Presbiterians, or Independants, nor to injure my successors, by lessning the Crowen of that ecclesiasticall & military power w^{ch} my predecessors left me, nor forsake my frends, much lesse to lett them suffer when I doe not, for their faithfulnessse to me, resoluing sooner to liue as miserable as the violent rage of successfull insulting Rebels can make me (w^{ch} I esteeme far worse than death) rather then not to be exactly constant to these grounds; from w^{ch}, whosoever, upon whatsoever occasion, shall persuade me to receade in the least title, I shall esteeme him ether a foole or a knaue; but you will aske me, *Quorsum hoc?* Yes, for without this warning, the tender personall affection of some might giue me troublesome aduyce, & yet not blameable, considering the present condition of my affaires, & not knowing this my resolution, w^{ch} I comand you to publishe to all whom their quality or judgement makes fitt for such dicourses, & so I rest,

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

You may say confidently, & giue me for author, that the peace of Irland is concluded, not yet knowing the particular conditions.

25 Aug; 1645. The King to me from Huntington, containing his resoluc'on never to quit ye Church Governement, his friends, or to diminishe the Crowne of that military or eccl'all power wch was left him by his pedecessors.

The KING to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Ragland * 9 Sep. 1645.

Nicholas, I receaued yesterday bothe of your letters (for I perceaued by their markes, that you haue yet written no more) with the advertisments from London, wch as you say is worthy my notice, but without considering make this answer, that the just contrary, concerning the new disco-uery of my Com'ission in a letter to the two Queenes † about the Irishe Papists, is trew: for indeed that roag Hartogen made such a foolishe proposition, but it was flatly denied by me, & (if my memory much faile me not) my Wyfe tooke occasion upon some clause in my answer, wherby it semed to her (in wch she was mistaken) as if I thought she had lyke the proposition, to disclaime any parte in it (so

* The King's adventures at this antient Castle are too well known to require illustration.

† Queen Henrietta Maria, and her mother the Queen of France, the widow of Henry IV.

far from aprobatation) but only the transmitting of it to me, w^{ch} certainly was not fitt for her to refuse: & this (with many other ansome expressions of her affection to me, euen to the ventring of being thought a Protestant in condemning the Irish proceedings) was, as I belieue, in that letter w^{ch} Tom Elliot deliuered me from her, as I was marching over Broadway Hills the 9 of May last; for I am sure the most of that letter was concerning the Irish business, & I know the reason why the Rebelles haue not printed it is, because it cleers that point more then any of those betweene vs, w^{ch} are published: That all this is trew, & that the Rebelles haue all this under my Wyfes hand & myne, I comand you to affirme positiuely in my name upon all occasions of this subject: but it is possible that all I mention to be, is not in the letter Tom Elliot brought me (though I am sure most is), but then it is in some other. So you see cleerly the trewth of this business, by w^{ch}, if it be brought to light, (w^{ch} I comand you to endeour, with all possible industry) I must haue honnor; for where my owen justifies me (w^{ch} I am sure my Wyfe can produce, lett the Rebells doe what they will) I care not what lyers can inuent in this kynde. For what else remains unanswered in your two letters I refer you to your fellow Secretary, & rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

R. 24^o Sepbris 1645. His Maties ler to me that ye Rebells have not printed some lrs of his Matie & ye Queens w^{ch} iustifie their Maties in ye busenes concerning Ireland.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Bridgenorthe 1 Oct. 1645.

Nicholas, none of your letres haue hitherto miscarried, this day having receaved the 12^f by Wytefoord, & shall at this tyme, more insist upon telling you of my desynes & giuing you directions, then in answers, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary to supply that: first then, (that you may know whither to send to me) I intend my course

^{Newarke}
towards 437; where I shall take further resolutions accord-
ing to occasion: Vnderstanding that ^{my horse under} 224 : 173 : 293 : 83 :
Lo: ^{Goring} 36 : 3 : 380 : is lykely to be eather ^{beaten} 14 : 37 : 32 : 17 :
^{or} 38 : 27 : 242 : ^{starued} 53 : 19 : 32 : 2 : 43 : 36 : 84 : ^{where} 307 :
^{they} 277 : ^{are} 47 : 20 : 98 : I haue com'and ^{him to breake} 169 : 290 : 14 : 2 :
^{through} 36 : 33 : 62 : 37 : 60 : 283 : ^{to me} 290 : 213 : now they
must ^{passe by or neere Oxon} 238 : 110 : 232 : 226 : 443 : wherfor my plasure
is, that you take that oportunety ^{to send D. of} 290 : 264 : 125 : 231 :
Yorke ^{to me} 541 : 290 : 213 : for since it is the fashion to ^{yeelde} 314 : 17 :
^{townes} 54 : 68 : 27 : 35 : 52 : ^{basely *} 70 : 14 : 33 : 52 : 36 : 207 :
none can blame me to ^{venture} 43 : 35 : 27 : 19 : ^{my} 44 : 3 : 224 :
59 : 39 : ^{children} 79 : 4 : 84 : 2 : 36 : ^{in an army} 27 : 176 : 95 : 323 :
47 : 90 : 2 : ^{rather} 33 : 277 : 3 : 18 : ^{then to be} 39 : 36 : 27 : 290 :

* This evidently refers to the King's displeasure against Prince Rupert for the loss of Bristol.

104 : 60 : 16 : ^{besieged} 36 : 52 : 38 : 78 : 24 : 127 : I haue
 no more to say but that I approue of all your aduyses in
 your last, & meanes to follow them: one of thease inclosed
 is for ^{the Queene of England} 247 : 231 : 363 : the other speakes it selfe. So
 I rest
 Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

“ For your selfe.”

1^o Octobr 1645. His Matie to me concerning sending y^e
 D. of Yorke to him by Lo: Goring.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

When you shall have considered the strange and most
 inexcusable deliverye vpp of the Castle and Fort of Bris-
 toll,* and compared it with those many precedinge aduer-
 tisements w^{ch} have been giuen mee, I make noe doubt, but
 you and all my Counsell there will conclude that I could
 doe noe lesse, then what you will finde heere inclosed, in
 my care of the preseruacion of my Sonne, of all you my
 faithfull seruaunts there, and of that importaunt place, my
 City of Oxford. In the first place you will finde a copy
 of my letter to my nephew; secondly, a reuocation of his
 commission of Generall; thirdly, a warrant to Lieutenant
 Coll' Hamilton to exercise the charge of Lieutenant Go-
 uernor of Oxford in Sir Thomas Glemhams† absence;

* Alluded to in the preceding letter.

† The King appears to have reposed great confidence in Sir
 Thomas Glemham, notwithstanding his surrender of Carlisle on
 the 28th of June preceding, but not till after a long siege, and

fourthly, a warrant to the sayd Lieutenant Colonell Hamilton to apprehend the person of Will: Legge* present Governour of Oxford; and lastlye, a warrant to be directed to what person shall bee thought fittest for the apprehendinge my Nephew Rupert, in case of such extreamitye as shall bee hereafter specified, and not otherwise. As for the circumstances and the timinge of the execution of all these particulars, as farr forth as they may admitt of some howres delay more or lesse, I must referr it to my Lord Treasurers† care and yours to aduise of, vpon the place, how it may be done with most securitye, and accordinglye to direct the manner of proceedinge. But yett I shall tell you my opinion as farr forth as I can judge at this distance, w^{ch} is, that you should beginne with securing the person of Will: Legge, before any thing be declared concerninge my Nephew. But that once done, then the sooner you declare to the Lords both the revokinge of my Nephews commission, and my makinge Sr Thomas Glemham Governour of Oxford, the better. As for the deliuey of my letter to my Nephew, if hee bee at Oxford, I take the proper time for that to be as soone as possiblye may bee after the securinge of Will: Legge. But if my Nephew be not there, I would then haue you hasten my letter unto him, and in the meane time putt the rest in execution.

finally despairing of succour. Indeed, he had distinguished himself, from the first, in the Royal Cause; having been second in command in Yorkshire, under the Earl of Cumberland.

* This is a piece of private history not noticed in the Peerage; but it is incumbent to record that the King's suspicions of his old and faithful friend, the ancestor of the present noble family of Dartmouth, were eventually ascertained to be without the slightest foundation.

† Sir John Culpepper.

The warrant for my Nephews commitment is onely that you may haue the power to doe it, if in stead of submitinge to, and obeyinge my commaunds in goinge beyond sea, you shall finde that hee practise the raisinge of mutinye or any other disturbance in that place, or any other, in wch case the sayd warrant for his committment is to bee deliuered unto whome you and my Lord Treasurer shall thinke fittest for it to be directed unto, and by that person to be putt in execution. Lastly I enjoyne you the care to lett all the Lords know, that whateuer is done in this kinde, is out of my tender regard of their safetye and preseruacion, and that they shall speedilye receiue for their satisfaction a particular account of the reasons of this necessarye proceedinge. I rest

Your most assured frend,

Hereford, Sept: 14th 1645.

CHARLES R.

Tell my Sone that I shall lesse greeue to heere that he is knoked in the head then that he should doe soe meane an action as is the rendring of Bristoll Castell & Fort* upon the termes it was. C. R.

R: 17^o 7^{bris} 1645, by Mr. North. The King to me.

* The King's anger at the surrender of Bristol is not surprising, when it is recollected that Prince Rupert actually possessed 140 pieces of mounted cannon, 100 barrells of powder, with 2500 foot, 1000 horse, and 1000 trained bands and auxiliaries; but then he had not more than sixteen days provisions for such a force. Indeed the King's feelings at this precise period must have been very bitter; since the immediate and consequent loss of Devizes, Winchester, Basing House, Berkeley Castle, and Chepstowe, reduced his affairs to a situation almost desperate.

Copie of Pr: RUPERTS &c. Petition deliuered at Newarke.*

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Whereas in all humility wee came to present our selues this day unto your Matie, to make our seuerall greevances knowne, Wee find we haue drawne upon us some misconstruction by the manner of that, by reason your Matie thought that appeared as a mutiny, Wee shall therefore with all humblenes and carefulnes present unto your Matie, that wee, the persons subscribed, whom from the beginning of this unhappy warre haue giuen such testimony to your Matie and the world of our fidelity and zeale to your Maties person and cause, doe thinke our selves unhappy to lye

* The affair that gave rise to this Petition deserves notice; for the King having at this moment gone to Newark, as a place of the best security, some differences of opinion arose amongst his confidential officers respecting the defeat of Lord Digby at Sherborne, which General Gerard asserted to be the result of treason. Digby's character, however, was supported by Belasis, the Governor, and several others; but the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, sided with Gerard. At length swords were drawn, and the King rushed in to part them; but when it was found that his opinion was in favour of Digby, Prince Rupert, and 400 of that party, actually threw up their commissions, as Burton declares in his Civil Wars, though this Petition seems to imply positively that their commissions were taken from them.

There appears a strange inconsistency in the accounts given of those affairs by the various contemporary writers of that period. The curious reader will find much amusement in referring to Bulstrode's Memoirs, page 127, et seq.; also to Clarendon, &c. &c.

under that censure; and as wee know in our consciences our selues innocent and free from that, wee doe in all humility therefore (least wee should hazard our selues upon a second misinterpretation) present these reasons of our humblest desires unto your sacred Matie, rather in writing than personnally, which are these :

That many of us trusted in high commands in your Maties service, haue not only our com'ission taken away without any reason or cause expressed, whereby our honors are blemished to the world, our fortunes ruined, and wee rendred incapable of trust or command from any forraigne Prince; but many others (as we have cause to feare) designed to suffer in the same manner.

Our intention in our addressing our selues to your Matie, and our submissiue desires, now are: that yor Matie wilbee graciously pleased that such of us as now labour under the opinion of unworthinesse and incapacity to serue your Matie, may at a Councell of Warre, receiue knowledge of the cause of your Maties displeasure, and haue the justice and libertie of our defence against what can be alleaged against us, and in particular concerning this Government; and if upon the severest examinac'on our integrity and loyaltie to your Matie shall appeare, that then your Matie be graciously pleased to grant us, either reparation in honour, against the _____ of our ennemys, or libertie to passe into other partes, which are the humblest desires of

Your Maties

most obedient and loyall subjects and servants.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

Newarke 10 Oct: 1645.

none of yours haue yet miscarried; haueing yesternight receaued your 14th letter: before this, I hope, Sr Tho: Glemham will be come to you, whom I have com'anded to take particular care of purging Oxford of mutinus & disaffected persons; & least he should not be bould anufe, hauing yet but a verball com'and, I thinke fitt now, that you should show him this, under my hand, that my pleasure heerein be dewly executed, whomsoener it may concerne: As for your Ticket of Accommodation, that I may understand it the better (for it yet seemes to me but an insignificant peece) I com'and you to send me the two Colonels Fox & Murray;* being possible that it may receaue such illumination, by the illustration of circumstances, as what hitherto seemes but a darke chaos, may breake forth into a *lactea via*, leading to peace:

For what concerns Will: Legge no suspicion of
 401 : I haue 229 : 511 : 231 : 109 ;
 but what Lo: Digby informed
 305 : 358 : 96 : 316 : 166 : 176 : 147 : 213 : 83 : me,
 wch satisfies me as to what I have done but
 305 : 174 : 166 : 122 : 109 : 229 :
 not him guilty of
 17 : beliuie 169 : 24 : 43 : 78 : 4 : 18 : 79 : 35 : 231 :
 trickery more particular proofs †
 521 : before I see 221 : 467 : 72 : 1 : 54 : 57 : 7 : 51 :

* The whole of this affair is curious, and is very little noticed in the history of that time.

† It is a certain fact, of which the King was afterwards well assured, that the insinuations against Legge's loyalty were founded on falsehood.

Our Northerne newes * we hope to be as good as your
 Westerne, though yet not so fully ratified, ^{but in confidence} 109 : 16 : 350 :
 29 : 58 : 35 : 277 : 2 : ^{thereof} 231 : 174 : ^I thinke ^{fit to} 143 : 290 :
^{advance} 87 : 43 : 31 : 27 : 61 : 36 : 10 : ^a 32 : 20 : ^{daye or} 118 : 51 :
^{two's} 232 : 568 : ^{march} 212 : ^{and} 60 : ^{if} 96 : ^{Montrose} 175 : ^{be} 417 : ⁱⁿ 104 : 176 :
^{that part} 276 : ^{as} 113 : ^I 99 : ^{hope} 174 : ^{he} 172 : ^{is} 167 : ^{there} 181 : 30 : 277 : 28 ;
^I and ^{intend} 174 : 176 : 19 : 38 : 27 : 85 : 10 : ^{to} 290 : 179 :
^{joyne} 28 : 37 : 30 : ^{wth} 303 : 169 : So hoping shortly to send
 you more certanty of our good newes, & how I shall dispose
 of my selfe, then yet I can, I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

This inclosed is for ^{my} 224 : ^{wyfe} 68 : 47 : 7 : 35.

“ For your selfe.”

10^o 8bris 1645. R: 17. 1645. His Matie to me concerning
 Coll: Will: Murrey. The 17th of 8ber Col: W. Murrey was
 sent for by the Lodd's, & his Maties pleasure signified to him
 to attend y^e King accordingly.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

Newarke 16 Oct. 1645.

I haue receaued 17 letters from you, for w^{ch} I hartely
 thanke you, wee being very much cheered by your frequent

* Alluding evidently to the victory gained by Montrose at Kilsythe in Scotland; but the King's hopes were soon after quashed, when Leslie defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh.

dispaches, wherfor I dout not but you will continew in so doeing : I wrote to you upon Fryday last, wherin there was a letter for ^{my wyfe} 224 : 68 : 49 : 7 : 35 : 30 : 300 : and lykewise in that dispache (I will not say that all was in myne) you were answerd concerning the Gouvernor of the Deuysses, & all others in his predicament, as lykewais the L: Hatton : so that now I haue but fower particulars to answer : I begin with ^{the Earle of Norwich*} 277 : 126 : 231 : 431 : about whome I embrace and thanke you for your motion, & comand you to send him word accordingly ; secondly for Mr. Atturney, † tell him if the Rebelles neuer did but justice or what they had lawfull power to doe, then his answer good, otherwais it is not worthe a button ; wherfor if he confesse my power, lett him accept my offer, otherwais I shall know what I haue to doe ; as for Rainsford, let the Judges proceede : lastly concerning ^{the Duke of York} 200 : 277 : 125 : 231 : 541 : 300 : if (as I hope) 380 : haue 156 : 271 : 176 : 277 : 525 : then 276 : 440 : concerning 169 : 302 : 27 : 54 : 17 : 10 : 163 : 72 : 35 : 28 : 20 : 109 : 175 : 380 : 104 : 374 : 83 : 30 : 290 : 250 : 277 : 525 : 96 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 303 : 170 : 173 : in that case it wer a folly in 213 : 290 : 194 : 224 : 266 : 29 : 36 : 40 : 101 : 443 : in the meane tyme 115 : 58 : 37 : 31 : 4 : 38 : 50 : 305 : I haue written in this 293 : 17 : 78 : 5 : 6 : 60 : 279 : 447 : 79 : 18 : 47 : 136 : 236 : as I haue sayed 109 : 277 : 27 : 70 : 83 : 38 : 59 : 6 : 98 : 35 : 90 : 224 : 302 : 167 : 36 : 1 : 176 : first 290 : 412 : 383 : (174 : 177 : 169 : 276 : 540 : 231 : cyfer 211 : 36 : 10 : 213 :

* Previously spoken of as General Goring.

† Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

229 : 18 : 20 : 71 : 2 : 48 : 19 : 30 : 279 : 290 : 169 :)
 277 : 27 : 40 : 290 : 277 : 50 : 3 : 37 : 51 : 19 : 90 :
 this is all, so I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

Methinks you might settle an intelligence
 51 : 35 : 17 : 4 : 36 : 10 : 31 :
 to y^r next by London
 27 : 391 : 290 : 277 : 525 : 110 : 400 : 300 :

I send you heerewith the trew copy of an intelligence from neere Ferrebriges, from one who hath the report of a discreet honnest man : by the Army he meanes Digby and Landale,* wch part I believe trew ; but for the former, I know the particular of my Wyfe, false : & for the rest, I leaue you to judge, not yet knowing what to say.

341 : 209 : 266 : 27 : 10 : 390 : 51 : 20 : 290 :
 151 : 436 : 391 : 148 : 400 : 307 : 147 : 174 : 1 : 35 :
 58 : 54 : 75 : 77 : 36 : 28 : 83 : 37 : 169 : 290 : 316 :

16o 8bris 1645. R. 22o. The King to me concerning making ye Earl of Norw'ch Capt: of the Garde, & the Attor Herberts removall.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicolas, my intenc'ons are
 : 224 : 176 : 289 : 17 : 180 : 53 : 20 : 98 :
 by God's helpe to
 (110 : 157 : 29 : 60 : 39 : 36 : 4 : 74 : 37 :) 290 :
 breake throughe y^e Rebelles
 14 : 3 : 37 : 34 : 64 : 38 : 283 : 277 : 475 : 18 :
 forces and get to Oxon† to wch
 374 : 53 : 600 : 96 : 152 : 290 : 443 : 290 : 308 :

* Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

† To this plan, Bulstrode tells us, the King was led by the

end my passage may
 128 : and that 224 : 238 : 52 : 33 : 26 : 37 : 209 :
 be with more ease &
 104 : 303 : 221 : 38 : 32 : 52 : 35 : 40 : 96 : 70 :
 security
 53 : 37 : 59 : 43 : 3 : 79 : 29 : 49 : I would have
 you acquaint the Gouvernor with these commands from me ;
 that he send all the horse that may be
 264 : 86 : 277 : 173 : 276 : 209 : possibly 104 :
 spared from Oxon to Banbury
 53 : 74 : 34 : 3 : 38 : 84 : 148 : 443 : 290 : 329 :
 on Sunday next directions
 233 : 554 : 227 : with these 83 : 78 : 2 : 36 : 59 :
 to the Comander in
 19 : 79 : 233 : 53 : 290 : 277 : 346 : 36 : 3 : 176 :
 Cheif keepe scouts
 59 : 39 : 36 : 82 : 7 : 38 : that he 183 : 53 : 59 : 56 :
 to wards Daventry
 44 : 19 : 52 : 290 : 68 : 33 : 2 : 83 : 53 : 70 : 84 : 37 :
 &
 43 : 38 : 27 : 17 : 3 : 47 : 90 : 96 : 300 : 39 :
 Harburrow
 34 : 3 : 14 : 46 : 1 : 2 : 56 : 46 : 26 : 42 : 200 :
 & diligently should
 96 : 83 : 79 : 6 : 82 : 24 : 37 : 29 : 19 : 207 : 42 :
 intelligence with the Gov'nor of
 57 : 43 : 4 : 84 : 391 : 303 : 277 : 379 : 232 : 231 :
 Belvoir, of what forces
 16 : 36 : 4 : 46 : 57 : 79 : 3 : 231 : 305 : 374 : 53 :
 ly in partes my resolution
 207 : 176 : those 239 : 53 : 224 : 3 : 37 : 266 : 4 :
 to goe that
 46 : 19 : 180 : being 290 : 24 : 56 : 38 : 276 : 69 :

circumstance of the rebel army being now in force on the North side of the Trent. The whole of the letter being in cypher is an evidence of the King's great desire for secrecy, and in consonance with the recorded fact, that he imparted his resolution to none, except to two or three of the nearest trust about him.

way if wth any reasonable hazard
 34 : 47 : 175 : 303 : 97 : 254 : 88 : 70 : 39 : 34 :
 I may passe: but if
 2 : 85 : 174 : 209 : 238 : 109 : 175 : Sr Thom:
 findes I come not to Banbury
 Glemham* 144 : 174 116 : 229 : 17 : 290 : 329 :
 by Thursday next come senight
 110 : 551 : 227 : 116 : 263 : 27 : 78 : 24 : 42 : 19 :
 then he may draw back
 277 : 29 : 167 : 209 : 83 : 3 : 34 : 69 : 20 : 16 : 32 :
 the horse secrecy
 59 : 64 : 277 : 173 : you must remember that 53 : 37 :
 in this particular
 58 : 1 : 38 : 61 : 49 : 176 : 279 : 239 : 79 : 59 : 43 :
 must be your cheifest
 4 : 34 : 3 : 215 : 104 : 317 : 59 : 39 : 37 : 78 : 7 :
 care tell the
 38 53 : 19 : 112 : I will only allow you to 274 : 277 :
 Gouvernor of it who must be
 379 : 232 : 231 : 182 : 320 : 215 : 104 : answerable
 discretion &
 for the 124 : 59 : 3 : 38 : 17 : 180 : 96 : 80 : 84 : 78 :
 dilligence of the person
 207 : 24 : 38 : 27 : 58 : 38 : 231 : 277 : 73 : 37 : 3 :
 that shall comand those
 53 : 233 : 276 : 52 : 39 : 94 : 346 : 17 : 39 : 54 :
 horse in cheif
 53 : 38 : 173 : 176 : 58 : 39 : 37 : 78 : 7 : 38 :
 so I rest Your most assured frend,
 CHARLES R.

Newarke 29 Oct: 1645.

Giue me an account of this:

29 Sbris 1645. The King to me by Parsons.

* Then Governor of Oxford.

Copy of a Letter from Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to Sir
HENRY VANE the Younger. *

Sr,

You cannot suppose the work is donn, though God should suffer you to destroy the King: the miseryes which will ineuitably follow are soe plaine in view, that it is more then necessary some speedy expedient be found for their preuention. Is it not cleere to you (to me it is) that Spaine and ffrance will instantly conclude a peace: and that ffrance makes great preparations to ioyne with the Scotts (when the breach betweene you and them shall happen) whilst Spaine labours to be Protector of Ireland, and will vndoubtedly carry itt. Consider well, whether the season is not proper for this designe, when the wealth of this nation is already so exhausted, and the sufferings of the people soe great, that they are no longer to be supported. This is reason, tis not to cast a bone amongst you: The only remedye is (and it is a safe and honourable one for you) that you sett your selfe, the gentleman that was quartered with you, and all his and your freinds to preuaile, that the King may come to London vpon the termes he hath offered; where, if Presbitery shall be soe strongly insisted vpon as that there can be noe peace without itt, you shall certainly haue all the power my master cann make to ioyne with you in rooting out of this kingdome that tyrannicall Gouernment; with this condition, that my master may not haue his conscience disturbed (yours being free) when that easy worke is finished. Loose not this faire

* This letter is highly deserving the attention of the historian and statesman, and forms a remarkable illustration of the events of that period.

oportunity, the like was never offered, nor euer will be; for itt brings all things of benifitt and aduantage imaginable, both to the generall and to your particular; to him that was quartered with you, and to his & you freinds: and shall be honestly made good. Trust to me for the performance of itt; waigh itt sadly, and againe relye upon me. Bee confident, that neither he that carryes this, nor he that deliuers it to you, knowes any thing of itt. (*Not signed.*)

Written at the bottom by the King.

“ This is a trew Coppie of what was sent to Sir Hen. Vane the Younger by my comand. C. R.”* March 2, 1645-6.

Indorsed,

2^o Martij 1645. By his Maties comaund these are to S. H. Vane sign'd wth ye Kings owne hand.

Copy of another Letter from the KING to Sir
HENRY VANE the Younger.

St,

I shall only add this word to what was said in my last: that you hasten my business all that possibly you cann; the occasion lately giuen being fairer than euer, and donn on purpose. Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good, I coniure you, to dispatch that curtoysye for me with all speed, or it will be too late, I shall perish before I receiue the fruits of itt. I may not tell you my necessityes, but if

* How little effect was produced by this remonstrance, may be easily imagined, when addressed to a man whom De Larrey characterises as “ more rigid, more a Presbyterian, and more a Parliamentarian in his sentiments than either Pym, Hampden, St. John, Fiennes, or Hollis!”

it were necessary soe to doe, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside, and fulfill my desires. This is all : trust me, I will repay your fauour to the full. I have donn. If I haue not an answeare within foure dayes after the receipt of this, I shall be necessitated to finde some other expedient. God direct you, I haue discharged my dutye. (*Not signed.*)

Written at the bottom of this letter by the King.

“ This is a true Copie of what was sent by Jack Asheburnham & my comand to Sir Henry Vane the younger. C. R.”

The KING'S promise to MONS. DE MONTREUIL concerning those that should come with him to the Scots Army.

I do promise to Mounsieur de Montreull, that none shall come with me to the Scots army, or meet me there, who are excepted by those att London, but only my two nepheues, and Jack Ashburnham.* Notwithstanding, the said Mon-

* The King's confidence in Ashburnham was very great at this crisis. In fact it was a very short time before, that his Majesty was obliged, by the approach of Fairfax, to escape from Oxford in disguise; and this he did as the servant of Ashburnham: after which he joined the Scottish army before Newark. Yet Ashburnham is suspected, with great appearance of truth, of having misled the King when he was taken prisoner in 1648, either through treachery or folly. Bulstrode in his Memoirs, asserts that when the King arrived in great privacy at the house of Lady Southampton, and that Ashburnham went up stairs to his Majesty's bed-chamber and told the King that Colonel Hammond was below at supper, and had given assurance for his Majesty's safety, but not of liberty for his person, the King instantly, with much emotion, struck his hand upon his breast, exclaiming, “ And is this all! Then I am betrayed!”

treull is to receave this my protestation, that all my ser-
uants, and all others who doe adheare to me, shalbe sau-
ed from ruine, or any publique dishonour; which is a condi-
tion that my wife writt to me that not only she, but likewise
Cardinall Mazarine,* were absolutely of opinion that I was
sooner to dye, than not to haue. As for Church Gouverne-
ment, as I haue already, soe I now againe promise, that as-
soone as I come into the Scotts army, I shall be very wil-
ling to be instructed concerning the presbiteriall gouverne-
ment: whereupon they shall see, that I shall striue to con-
tent them in any thing, that shall not be against my con-
science.

CHARLES R.

Indorsed by Sir Edward Nicholas.

“ The King’s promise to Monsieur de Montreuil † concern-
ing those that should come wth him to y^e Scots army: w^{ch} pro-
mise was written by Mr. Jo: Ashbournham, and signed by the
King; but wthout date.”

* Mazarine had recently become Prime Minister of France,
in consequence of the death of Richelieu. The latter bore an
implacable malice and hatred to England for her interference
respecting the French Protestants, particularly in the affairs of
the Isle du Rhe, and Rochelle. It is curious to compare this
opinion of Mazarine with the well authenticated fact that, not-
withstanding his outward appearance of friendship, he was actu-
ally tampering with the Parliament and keping up a good cor-
respondence with them, through the medium of Don Alonzo de
Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador!

† Montreull, or Montreville, seems in this affair to have been
the tool of Mazarine in deceiving the King; for all the contem-
porary writers, Warwick, Bulstrode, &c. assert, that he pro-
mised, in the name of the King of France, that Charles should
be secure under the protection of the Scottish army.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castle 16 Maij 1646.

Nicholas, since my last I had neither sufficient tyme nor matter to write to you, but now I haue enough of either, yet I shall to ease both our paynes, contract my thoughts, meerey to what is (for the present) necessary for you att Oxford.* ffor directions then, know that you are not to expect releefe, so that I giue you leaue to treat for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your example: the additions must be the taking care particularly of the University, and to trye if you can gett the Duke of Yorke to be sent hither to me, as alsoe all my seruaunts who wilbe willing to come (of w^{ch} number I am sure you are one) but feare you will not get leaue, and those goods w^{ch} I haue there.

These directions I would haue you keepe very secreat, that you may make better conditions: ffor the number and choyce, I leave to the Lordes discrec'ons (the gouernor

* Oxford was at this moment nearly reduced; so that Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor, in answer to a summons, asked permission to send a messenger to the King for orders. This, however, was refused by Fairfax, as several historians declare, and the City was delivered up, but not until after a treaty of some weeks continuance, as the City did not surrender until this 24th of June. The facts contained in the indorsements possess considerable interest for the future historian.

When this letter was written the King was with the Scottish army, who had retreated thus far after the surrender of Newark to the Parliament army.

In "Memoirs of the Two last Years of Charles the First," by Herbert, there is an allusion to the King's consent, through the Lords of the Privy Council then at Oxford.

being one), but you must give out that releefe will come. Jack Ashburnham is this day gonne for ffraunce. I haue no more to say, so I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

“16^o Maij 1646. R. 10^o Junii & ye next day read to ye Lod^s.

The King to me from New Castle giving leave to treat, &c.

This ltr & that of ye 2^d of June were read to all ye Lod^s and gent. about this towne (Oxford) on Sunday ye 20th of June 1646.”

This letter was written in cyfer, but the figures are for the most part blotted or run through with the pen, but are decyphered and filled up by Sir Edward Nicholas.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castell 2 June 1646.

Nicholas, since I saw you, I receaved but one letter from you, w^{ch} was of the 5th of May; & this is but the 3rd that I haue written unto you, hauing sent a duplicatt of my last about 9 dayes agoe. For direc'cons, I shall in substance repeate what I last sent you, w^{ch} is that, because you are to expect noe releef, I giue you leaue to treat for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your guide, w^{ch} I be-lieue wilbe graunted you, hauing a particular care that my sonne and two neplues haue permission to com to me whersoever I shalbe: as lykewais that the freedome of ye University be preserued, & that all my seruants, who ar willing, may come to me with the few goods that I haue there. I omitt news att this tyme, because it will doe little

good to you, & trouble me; soe comanding you to assure all my frends, that no change of place shall (make) me alter my affection to them; I rest

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

I advise excepted persons to agree for Exeter conditions, & for noe better.

When my goods ar sent, forget not all the bookes w^{ch} I left in my bedchamber.

Indorsed,

2^o Junii 1646. R: 11^o, read to ye L^{des} ye next day. The King gives leave to treat.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castell 24 June 1646.

Nicholas,

I haue receaved yours of the 6: & 9: of this monthe w^{ch} requyres no other answer but thanke you for your intelligence & to comend you for your resolution; only I thinke you needed not to burne my cypher; but howsoever lett me heare from you as often as you can, & assure all my frends that I am constant to all them who will not forsake themselves, of w^{ch} I know you ar none, so that I am

Your most assured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

In hope my cypher is not sacrificised 209 : 141 : 56 : 63 :
 17 : 67 : 429 : 360 : 341 : 250 : 78 : 31 : 18 : 81 :
 where my Jewells were w^{ch} I. H. had,
 412 : 351 : in : no : 418 : 56 : 111 : 413 : 449 : 197 :

and if my Cabinet* wch
 112 : 213 : 251 : 90 : or 27 : 40 : 7 : 67 : p : 413 :
 I left wth you be burned
 209 : 234 : 409 : 429 : 121 : at : ad : 19 : if : 147 :
 or not.
 281 : 270 :

24^o Junii 1646. The K. to me.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castell 16 Aug:

Nicholas, I received yours by the last post, whereby I understand what course you intend to take, wch I approve

of, yet I thinke it not necessary [necessary] to ^{write} 422 : ^{to} 360 :
 Marq: H. nor Earl of Southampton
 550 : 520 : 269 : 17 : 503 : 280 : 356 : 84 : 107 : 43 :

for hauing [erased]
 282 : 162 : 200 : 216 : 258 : 133 : 280 : 366 : selfes
 there 365 : 280 : 251 : 84 : 282 : 7 : 281 : 122 : 431 :
 216 : 383 : 251 : 56 : 67 : 46 : 75 : 70 : 59 : 112 :
 57 : 78 : 281 : 81 : 360 : 361 : 319 : 27 : 148 : 58 :

Com'end me to all my Friends, & assure them of my constancy; and I assure you that I haue sent where you ar going, being confident that you will be very well received there, so I rest
 Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

This inclosed is for 14 : 47 : he : 68 : 21 : 35 : 6 :

16^o Aug. 1646. The King to me.†

* The King's anxiety about his Cabinet is not surprizing, if we recollect the very unhandsome use which had formerly been made of letters seized by the Parliamentary forces; when even the common expressions of conjugal confidence and tenderness were tortured into political crimes, or made the jests of the lowest revolutionary ruffians.

† This part of the correspondence is important, as it took

In the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.

The Reasons why his Matie thought good to send his Proposition of ye ... of December, 1645, to London, were, for that

His Matie hath noe Army att all, nor any forces but what are in his garrisons.

Noe meanes or monny either to satisfy or keepe together his officers, or to supply or pay his garrisons, but the contribuc'ons of the country, wch being wasted by ye souldiors of both sides, & extremly disaffected, are reddy every day to rise agt his Maties garrisons, as being not able any longer to undergoe the heavy pressures wch ye necessitys of his Maties souldiors & ye absence of his Maties Governmt dayly put upon them.

That his Matie having lost Bristoll, hath no meanes to be supplied from forraigne partes wth armes or munition, or materialls for making of either, of wch he begins alreddy to be in want.

There is noe meanes to raise any considerable forces for an army agt ye next Spring: for that all Wales was lost p^esently after ye losse of Bristoll, and since that, Munmouth & Hereford.

place about the period when the Scottish army were engaged in the negociations for his delivery to the English Rebels. In a Glasgow publication of Original Letters (1766) there is one from a Scottish Commissioner, who observes, "many of the King's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if in God's justice he were destroying himself." This letter was written on the 7th of August, 1646, at the period when Charles refused to agree to the Scottish propositions.

Chester is in imminent danger to be likewise lost: Newark & Belvoir Castle * are besieged & in danger.

In y^e west there are about 5 or 6000 horse & foote, but there are there soe great divisions amongst the cheif officers, and the Councill that attend y^e Prince, as for want of condvet these forces are disunited, and y^e country soe disaffected to them by reason of the soldiors rapine and oppression, as y^e country rises against them whensoever they come into any place not in a body, and the country is soe wasted, as it cannot feede them when they lye together in a body. Besides, the Cornishe will not be drawne further than Devonshe.

Exeter is soe close besieged, as very little or noe p'visions can passe into it, & it is not supplied for many monthes.†

* The Earl of Rutland had sided with the Parliament, but Belvoir was garrisoned by the King's forces,

† It has been said by contemporary writers that the King, being now in distress, had no hopes from a proposition to Parliament, but merely complied with the earnest entreaties of his confidential friends. The message, which he sent, was filled with tender expressions respecting the miseries of the nation, of which it manifested a very deep sense, in consequence of the existing civil distractions. It conjured the Parliament, as they would answer it to Almighty God, for all blood spilt, or yet to be shed, and as they tendred the preservation of their religion calling upon them also by all the bonds of duty and allegiance to their King, of compassion for their bleeding country, or charity to themselves, that they would dispose their hearts and judgments towards a just and speedy settlement of affairs: but it answered no other purpose than to draw forth demands even more imperious than those during the Treaty of Uxbridge.

. is possessed by Sr Tho. Fairfax forces, & the King hath in Devon now noe poste but Dartmouth, & there are likewise forces marched thither to blocke it upp.

The Seige of Plymouth is soe weekly prosecuted for want of force as they have lately releued themselves and burnt some of our quarter neere it.

Sr Tho. Fairfax & Crumwell haue lately sent into these p'tes neere 1500 of their best horse, w^{ch} shewes that they are much too strong for his Maties forces in those partes.

These Western horse are drawing towards Oxon & are to ioyne wth other forces w^{ch} are to come from London under Coll: Ringingborrow, & all that can be spared from Coventry, Warwick, Gloucester, & Northampton, & out of Buckinghamshire (w^{ch} it is beleued will in all make noe less than 8000 foote and 4000 horse & dragoons) & ar designd p^{es}ently to block upp Oxon att a distance.

Denington Castle is blockt upp by forces that lye in Newberry & the Country thereabouts.

This being his Mats p^{es}ent condition in England, & there being noe peace concluded in Ireland, nor any considerable forces possibly to be drawne from that Kingdom in any tyme to assist his Matie:

The Mar: of Muntrosse being still in y^e highlands, or noe neerer then Glascoe, & in what condition his Matie is not certeynly assured, soe as there is little hope of tymely ayde from him:

From Fra. or Holland there was nothing but faire & fruitless p'misses, they having not in all this tyme afforded his Matie any considerable assistance, nor soe much as publicly declared ag^t those att London:

Upon these considerations his Matie resolved to send to London y^e P'positions, w^{ch} being as low as he can goe wth p^{es}erving of his conscience and hon^r he doubts not but

God will give a blessing to y^t his intentions; And that if his s^{bts} doe not harken to y^e reason he offers, his Allies will consider how farre his interest may worke theirs.

Indorsed, Reasons why his Matie sent his Proposic'ons to London, dated Dec^r 1646.

The KING to the SPEAKER of the HOUSE of PEERS.

Holmby [Holdenby], 6 Martij. 1646-7.

C. R.

It being now 17 dayes since I wrote to you from hence, & not yet receiuing any answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you; and indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not at this time trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended by some of my Chaplains,* whom I

* The sentiments contained in this letter are so completely in unison with those in "Eikon Basilike" (art. 23, 24. pp. 201 to 218, edit. 1648), as to afford proof, if proof were necessary, of the authenticity of that work from the royal pen.

The letter itself was written about two months after the King had been given up to the Parliament, and about three months previous to his seizure by Cornet Joyce, on the part of Cromwell and the army.

A very minute and interesting account of these transactions will be found in Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs of the "Two last years"* of the unhappy monarch.

There is a remarkable passage, alluding to those circumstances, in a letter from the Earl of Panmure to Lord Wariston, dated 23d January 1647; where he says, "His Majesty is so well resolved now for his going to Holmby as ever I saw him for any thing. He thinks that the Scots have sold him at too cheap a rate. If our posterity find not the smart thereof, it is well."

esteem & reuerence, is that w^{ch} is so necessary for me (euen considering my present condic'on, whither it be in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlemt of the present distracc'ons in Religion) that I will slight diuers kinds of censures, rather then not obtain what I demand. Nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being grounded upon reason. For I desire you to consider (not thinking it needfull to menc'on) the diuers reasons w^{ch} no Christian can be ignorant of, for the point of conscience. I must assure you that I cannot as I ought take into consideration those alterac'ons in Religion w^{ch} haue, & wilbe offred unto me, w^{thout} such helps as I desire, because I can neuer iudge rightly of, or be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denyed me. But when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to striue for victory in argum^t, but to seeke to submit to truth, according to that judgem^t w^{ch} God hath giuen me; always holding it my best & greatest conquest, to giue contentm^t to my two Houses of Parl^t in all things w^{ch} I conceiue not to be against my conscience or hon^r. Not doubting likewise, but that you wilbe ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

To the Speaker * of the House of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lo: & Co'mons in the Parl^t assembled at Westm'r.

Indorsed,

6^o Mar: 1641. Cobby of y^e King's 2d ltr for some of his Chaplaines.

* Lenthall.

A Memorandum in King Charles the First's own handwriting:

Freedome in Conscience & Honnor and Security for all those that shall come with me, & in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set doune at such of my Garisons as I shall name to them: w^{ch} condition I hope not to put them to, for I shall not differ with them about Ecclesiasticall businesses, w^{ch} they shall make apeare to me not to be against my conscience; & for other matters, I expect no difference, & in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two Queenes. And befor I take my jurny I must send to the Marquis of Montrose to aduertice him upon what conditions I come to the Scots Army, that he may be admitted forthwith iuto our conjunction, & instantly march up to us.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

“ A Note written with ye Kings owne pen concerning his going to ye Scotts.”*

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oatlands, 19 Aug. 1647.†

Nicholas, to ease my paines, I haue comanded Oudart ‡

* This memorandum throws considerable light upon what may well be considered as the obscurest part of Charles's history during the Civil War.

† It was on the 3d of June that the King was seized by Joyce, and after a desultory progress arrived at Oatlands on the 14th of August; and soon after he removed to Hampton Court.

‡ Oudart was afterwards one of the King's Commissioners

to answer some particulars in your last letter: this being only to thanke you for your aduertisments & freedome: desyryng you still to continue the same, assuring you that I haue a particular care of you, w^{ch} I hope shortly shall be visible to all the world: so I rest

Your most assured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

Oatlands $\frac{9}{15}$ Aug. 1646.

His Maties l^r to me.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

Yo^r fidelity & industry in our seruice & eminent affec^tions to our person, haue made in us too great an impression to be forgotten; on the contrary you must continue in this confidence, that we very highly retaine you in our value & remembrance, as you will finde if it please God to restore us to a condic^on for it. As an earnest whereof at present you will receive herewith a direction to our dearest Sonn the Prince on your behalfe, whom as we know you will serue with the same duety and zeale as you haue serued us, so will he assuredly giue you that reception & admission to his confidence w^{ch} you haue had with us. We thanke you for yo^r severall letters & aduises, and are very tenderly sensible of yo^r pressures, and if you could gett them removed by the help of friends, we thinke you would do well not to neglect so doing in respect of yo^r family, there

in the Conferences at Newport with the Parliamentary agents. In such confidence was he with the King as to be employed during that treaty in writing his private dispatches to the Prince of Wales. Vide Warwick's Memoirs, p. 325,

being no certainty yet what successe will follow this Treaty. That Providence w^{ch} permits these afflictions to lye upon Us, We trust will yet in good time take them off. Doe you continue yo^r affections towards Us, not doubting of the constant fauor to you & yo^{rs} of

Your most assured Frend,

CHARLES R.

From Newport in y^e Isle of Wight 24 Novemb: 1648.*

To Secr: Nich'as.

His Mat^{ties} Farewell Speech unto y^e Lords Com'ssioners at
Newport in y^e Isle of Wight.†

“ My Lords,

You are come to take your leaue of mee, and I beleeue wee shall scarce euer see each other againe:—but Gods will be done. I thank God I haue made my peace wth him, & shall wthout feare undergoe what he shall please to suffer men to doe unto mee.

My Lords, you cannot but knowe that in my fall and ruine you see yo^r owne, and that alsoe neere to you. I pray God send you better frends then I haue found.

* The several historical facts, to which this letter refers, are too well known to require commentary; but the letter itself is of consequence to Sir Edward Nicholas's claim on the patronage of Charles II. alluded to in a subsequent letter to the Monarch respecting the office of Secretary; and illustrates the political character of that Monarch.

† The Commissioners were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Middlesex; Viscount Say and Sele; Lord Wenman; Messrs. Pierpoint, Hollis, Crew, Bulkeley; Sirs Henry Vane, jun., Harbottle Grimstone, and John Potts; Serjeants Glynn and Browne, and some others.

I am fully informed of y^e whole carriage of y^e plott against me & myne, and nothing soe much afflicts mee as the sense and feelinge I haue of y^e sufferings of my subjects, and y^e mischief that hangs ouer my three Kingdomes, drawne upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their owne interestes and ends.”

These words his Matie deliuered wth much alacrity and cheerefullnes, wth a serene countenance, & carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus he parted wth y^e Lords leauing many tender impressions (if not in them) yet in y^e other hearers.*

His Maties farewell Speech to the Lodes at Newport 1^o Dec. 1648.

* This conference took place almost immediately before the King's being put to death, an event so pointedly referred to in a work recently published in the United States, that an extract from it cannot fail to be interesting. The author, the Reverend Doctor Stiles, President of Yale College, in his *History of Three of the Judges of Charles II.* first published in 1794, remarks, in allusion also to the French Revolution—"The era is now arrived, when tribunals for the trial of delinquent Majesty, of Kings and Sovereign Rulers, will be provided for, in the future politics and constitutions of Sovereignties, Empires, and *Republics*: when the heroic and high example of doing justice to criminal royalty, of the adjudication of a King, will be recurred to and contemplated with justice and impartiality. And, however it has been overwhelmed with infamy for a century and a half, will hereafter be approved, admired, and imitated; and the memoirs of those suffering exiles will be immortalized with honour."—Dr. Stiles was not half so good a conjurer as old Grebner!

Sir,

Paris,* Nov. 6, 1649. St. No.

To giue you an account of the vastnesse of this packett, give me leauē to tell you, that together with this booke w^{ch} I send you, there came in half a score persons of consideration, who with very much passion desired me to represent to Jersey, the high indignity by this base edition † offered to our blessed Master, and the great injury rendered to his Majesty that now is.

* Charles, at the period of his father's murder, was at the Hague with his brother in law, the Prince of Orange; after which he went to France to join his afflicted mother; but having been proclaimed King throughout Ireland, with the exception of Dublin and Londonderry, he would have proceeded there, had he not been forewarned that such a procedure would produce much alarm among the Protestant friends to his cause. He therefore went no farther than Jersey, where he was proclaimed King, a short time previous to the date of this Remonstrance.

† If it were necessary to enter upon the controversy respecting the authenticity of "Eikon Basilike," this letter might be adduced as a proof against Bishop Gauden's claim to that work. The wish here expressed was not fulfilled specifically; though afterwards in some measure gratified by the publication of "Eikon Aklastos" in 1651, as a vindication of the original work against the attacks of "Eikonoklastes."

This letter was written by Sir Edward Nicholas during his retreat from England, after the death of his royal master. He appears to have then been resident with his son in law, Sir Richard Browne, who still remained Chargé d' Affaires at the French Court.

The inquisitive reader will find some interest in comparing this letter with the very copious and impartial essay on this subject by Mr. Nichols, in "Literary Anecdotes," vol. I. p. 522.

You will finde a preface to this Booke, w^{ch} tends to proue that our blessed Master might be, nay perhaps was, a Papist in his heart, notwithstanding this Booke. That what instructions & com'ands were giuen to his Sonne for his firmenesse to the Protestant religion, were giuen out of politique considerations meerely, and many other particulars, w^{ch} I hope will bring it to the hands of the commonhangman.

This Marsys is one who setting out the tryall of the late King, and y^e manner of his murther, stiles himselfe "Interprete et Maistre pour la langue Françoisse du Roy d' Angleterre regnant à present et de son Altesse Royale le Duc d' Yorke son frere," in w^{ch} Booke he stiles Queene Elizabeth (of euer blessed memory) Jezabell. He settts downe a false and faigned speech of the King's at y^e time of his being murthered; & being charged with it, he said he thought fitt to make that speech as spoken by him, since the speech he did make was poore and below a King. He hath sett forth diuers other things, an extract whereof I shall shortly send you, the least of w^{ch} would deserve a whipping in England in good times to speake moderately. I p^{re}sume you will giue this busines a thorough sifting there in councell, and send some directions to S^r Rich: Browne how to proceede here; that it may appeare who sett him on worke here, and who giues him these exact coppies, w^{ch} he pretends to haue under y^e King's owne hand, and those other peeces of the King's, w^{ch} he so braggs of, and promises he will bring them to light, so soone as he obtaines leaue to publish them. I hope some course wilbe taken that he may be discharged of his titles of relation to the King, and that his Ma^{ty} will hereupon giue order, that a true copy may be printed in french of his Father's Booke, declared by him to be authentique, waving both the editions either

of Huguenot or Papist, and that this command be grounded upon the ill editions of both these persons and party.

Indorsed, "6^o Novem: 1649. Concerning Marseis his translac'on of the King's booke."

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS to KING CHARLES the Second.

May it please yo^r Matie,*

I came to yo^r Matie out of duty to serve you if I could, not out of designe to gaine preferment, & thoughte I understood well, that yo^r Maties Privy Councill here was neither of number or weight equall to y^e importaunce of yo^r Maties affaires, yet yo^r Matie being then resolved to goe for Irland (where I conceaved there would be an addition of Councillors answerable to y^e weight of yo^r affres) I did y^e more willingly tender my humble services here.

But since its not now councellable for yo^r Matie upon y^r change of yo^r busines in Irla: to goe thither, I held it my duty humbly to advise you, that I find yo^r affres of soe great importaunce, & of such a nature, as (in my poore iudgem^t) it will not be possible for you to man'age y^e same wthout a stedy, settled, & more full Councill of able, graue & experienced p'sons of unblemished integrity, whose honor, esteeme, fidellity, & prudence may raise y^e reputac'on of yo^r Councill from that greate contempt it lyes under both at home and abroad; & whereby forraigne Prces may be encouraged to assist yo^r Matie, & yo^r Royall party in Engl: to appeare more vigorously for you.

If for want of such a settled & hol^{lee} Privy Councill, yo^r Matie shalbe necessitated (as lately) to call (upon every

D. Richmond
Ea: Arundell
Ea: Derby
Ea: Norwich
E. South'ton.
Sir Art. Hopton.
Mr. Cha: Exch.
L'd Hatton.

* Written by Sir Edward Nicholas, and alluded to in a former note.

important occasion) such to Councell who are not sworne, it will not much satisfy yo^r party in Engla: nor advantage yo^r aff^{res}. Besides yo^r Privy Councell wilbe att a great disadvantage, when they are to give their advise upon oath, & are by y^e same obliged to be secreat, & y^e others shalbe att liberty & under noe tye att all.

My humble advise therefore is, that yo^r Matie forthwth endeavour by all meanes possible to get a Councell composed of a convenient number of such hoble, experienced, & faithfull p[']sons, as may be equall to y^e great importaunce of yo^r p[']sent aff^{res}, & above y^e contempt that yo^r now Councell lyes under, aswell in yo^r owne Court, as abroad, wthout w^{ch} it will not be possible for you to goe throughe yo^r greate businesses.

As for my owne particular,*

I humbly beseech yo^r Matie to give me leave to put you in minde, that att St Germain's y^r Matie comaunded me to wayte on you in this place, where you were pleased to tell me you should have occasion to make use of my service as Secre[']ie, & to that end yo^r Matie comaunded me to gett

* De Larrey, a French historian of those times, says of Sir Edward Nicholas, that he had much better qualities and more zeal for the late Monarch, than the preceding Secretary of State, Windebank. He adds, that he was truly devoted to the Church of England; and having, besides, as much integrity as ability, he was as faithful to the son as to the father. "Charles II. recompensed his fidelity, and restored him, in 1658, to the post that his father had given him; if this employment was honourable to him, all the profit redounded to the King, who conferred it on him not till he left France, and when he was a wanderer from Court to Court, and from country to country." But this was precisely agreeable to the Royal promise; as appears from Charles's reply.

prepared a signet, and other provisions fitting, w^{ch} accordingly I p^rvided att my owne cost. I was there further tould from yo^r Matie, that when I came to Jersey, I should be sworne Sec^rie. And since I came hither, yo^r Matie tould me I should be sworne, as soone as I came into Irla: Now since yo^r Matie goes not for Irla: I humbly desire that I may be sworne before yo^r Maties dep^ture from hence:

1. Because, I know y^e busines belonging to a Sec^rie of State ought not to be p^rformed by one that is not sworne in y^e place.

2. For that y^e busines I shall doe (not being sworne), will not have that credit & esteeme, as is requisitt for y^e advantage of affaires of that nature.

3. That it wilbe a great disrepute for me (who have had the honor to serve yo^r Royale father 7 yeares in that office) to execute any considerable p^rte thereof, & not be established in it by oath, w^{ch} only can make a man capable of p^rformaunce of the duty of that place, as it ought to be.

Yo^r Maties obiection, that if you sweare me, you must doe y^e like for Mr. Long,* is rather a discouragement then satisfac^on to me, who did hope my soe long faithfull service to yo^r Royall father would have mov^d yo^r Matie to

* Mr. Long was only engaged by Charles in a private capacity, and during the interregnum; his name is not entered upon any of the lists of office.

The King seems to have had a personal attachment towards Mr. Long. It is, perhaps, not irrelevant also to observe, that if the handwriting of the two rival Secretaries had been allowed any weight in the discussion of the question, Mr. Long would have been a successful opponent of Sir Edward; his mode of writing being nearly equal to copper-plate printing, whilst that of the latter is often scarcely intelligible.

make more difference betweene us, since I have hitherto (I thanke God) carryed a cleere reputac'on in all my wayes.

Wherefore its my most humble suyte, that yo^r Matie wilbe pleased either to give order that I may be sworne yo^r Maties Sec'rie (whereby I may be enabled to doe you service), or else that I may have leave wth yo^r Maties gracious favour, to retire untill my faithfull & disinterested service may be of more use in yo^r Maties affaires.

“ For yo^r Matie.”

Indorsed, “ Je lis ce papier au Roy a Jersey 31 de Janvier. St. Vx 1649.”

The KING to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Charles R.

In regard of our many great & weighty businesses, Wee are resolved & promise wth all convenient speede to increase the number of Our English Privy Councillors in a considerable proporc'on answerable to y^e importaunce of our affaires.

Wee are alsoe resolved principally to make use of & rely on, the faithfull advise of our sworne Privy Councill in y^e managem^t and determinac'on of our important affaires.

Wee likewise resolve & promise, to sweare and establishe Sr Edw: Nicholas in y^e office and place of one of our principall Secritaries of State, the first man Wee admit to or constitute in that office, and as soone as Wee shall dismisse Rob^t Long from our service. Given at our Court att Castle Elizabeth in our Island of Jersey the 14-24th of ffebr: 1649-50.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

St. Johnstons: Sept. 3, 1650.*

Mr. Secr: Nicholas, I haue giuen this bearer his dispatch, and haue signed all the Commissions, with 53 blankes wch I desire you to fill up as you shall haue occasion, there are

Marq: Hertford

two com'issions for 445 : 388 : that if one should miscarey the other might serue. I haue sent you here inclosed a letter of credance to the Prince of Orange,† that if you should haue occasion of his assistance you may use it; but pray haue a care that you doe not press him about money, for I haue had so much from him allready that it were a shame to seeke more of him. This bearer will acquaint you with my condition much better than I can doe in a letter, I shall only say this to you, that you cannot imaien

the vilaney of the (illegible) &
245 x3 : 160 : m8 : 8 : 191 : w5 : 175 : m9 : t6 : p :

64 : 49 : v6 : 104 : 47 : 213 : 7 : indeed it has done

me a greate deale of good, for nothing could ^{have confirmed} 138 : 81 :

109 : 14 : 12 : 2 : 170 : 13 : 220 : 242 : 245 : bb :

* Written during Charles's visit to Scotland, when he was crowned King. It was on this day that the Scots were defeated at Dunbar. Charles went to Scotland in June; and towards the latter end of July Cromwell took the command of the English Army in that Kingdom.

Charles sailed from Schevling in Holland, in the preceding June, and landed at Spey, in Scotland, soon after. On the 15th of July he was proclaimed at Edinburgh Cross; and afterwards proceeded to St. Johnstone's, which place had been appointed for the meeting of the Scottish States.

† Father of William the Third.

Church of England here
 254 : 73 : n8 : 349 : 153 : then being x9 : 26 : 139 :
 seing theire hipocrisy*
 69 : t3 : 151 : w5 : s3 : c4 : 20 : q6 : 75 : h : 8 :
 the D: of Yorke's Lo: Gerrard's
 v2 : I shall send 245 : 575 comission and 374 : 49 : by
 Oudart, who I will dispatch within this 2 or 3 days. I had
 allmost forgot a bussines of great importance, it is to speke
 a smack
 to the Pr: of Orange to send hether 218 : 30 : 4 : 169 :
 or a herring buss wth five
 44 . 38 : n7 : 12 : e8 : gg : w : 5 : 262 : 111 : x2 :
 or six men to lie here pre to
 190 : 229 : 39 : 19 : w2 : k4 : 33 : f5 : r4 : 240 :
 n di n g it is to carrey ouer
 25 : yy : 45 : 34 : 145 : g5 : 242 : 80 : s3 : 7 : p7 :
 a messenger when there
 64 : 30 : 170 : 228 : 45 : d4 : 14 : x7 : aq : w5 :
 is occasion
 220 : 147 : 477 : I being at the charge of keeping them
 I would have the vessel
 when they are here. 141 : z3 : 138 : 245 : r8 : x2 : 4 :
 come to Montrose
 228 : 24 : 44 : nn : 47 : w2 : 171 : m6 : 222 : t3 :
 320 † I would haue you and Mr. Attorney. to stay in
 holland as being the place that is the neerest to this King-
 dome and where I shall haue occasion of your services:

* This is a new fact for the Writers of Scottish History. The report also that Charles was forced to perform public Kirkenance by the Presbyterians, is mentioned in a ludicrous manner in a Letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Queen of Bohemia, preserved in Bromley's Royal Letters, page 153.

† This plan is a manifest proof of the little reliance which Charles placed upon his Northern friends. Whether he doubted their power or their loyalty does not exactly appear; but it is evident that he wished to ensure the means of escape, independent of their exertions in his favour. The whole Letter is a good commentary upon the histories of that period.

I have no more to say to you at the present but to assure that I am and euer will be

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

The KING to Mrs. TWISDEN.

Taken from a Copy.

Mris Twisden,

Having assurance of your readines to performe what I desired of you by my Letter of the 7th of February from Jersey, according to your Brothers promise, in order to the conveying to me the George and Seales left me by my blessed Father, I haue againe employed this bearer (in whom I haue very much confidence) to desire you to deliver the said George and Seales into his hand for me; assuring you, that as I shall haue great reason thereby to acknowledge your owne and your Brothers civilitys and good affections, in a particular soe deerly valued by me; soe I will not be wanting, when by Gods blessing I shall be enabled, deseruedly to recompence you both for soe acceptable a service don to

Your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnston, 2 8^{ber} 1650.

The KING to Mr. WILLIAM HINTON.

Taken from a Copy.

Mr. William Hinton,*

Your many faithfull services done to my deere Father of blessed memory and to my selfe, & the constant continuance

* This Letter confirms the suspicion, hinted at in the preced-

in your loyall affections to my just cause, are soe very remarkable, as I shalbe euer mindfull to acknowledge them, and to gratify and reward you for them. The condition of my affaires requiring that a considerable sum'e of money be speedily sent into Holland, I doe at present desire you by such private meanes as you shall conceiue most safe, to conueye or returne thither by bills of exchange for my use, such sumes of money, as either you haue or shalbe able to procure by loane, or otherwise, of my well affected subjects, towards my supply: and as I doubt not you will comply with all readines & industry with this my desire, soe I will that you assure all those who shall contribute to y^e support of my occasions, y^t I shall willingly repay them, when God shall enable me, and also further recompence them to their content: and will particularly consider you for the paines you shall imploy herein as a service very acceptable to

Your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2. 8^{ber} 1650.

The KING to Sir JOHN GREENVILLE.

Taken from a Copy.

S^r John Greenville,* considering how important it would be for the good of my affaires to haue a body of men in a readines to countenance any attempt that shall be made by my good subjects in the West,† for recovering my just

ing note, that Charles was more anxious for a safe escape to the Continent, than sanguine of success from the state of affairs in Scotland.

* He was afterwards Earl of Bath.

† This Letter was written at the period when Charles, weary

rights, their owne libertys, and suppressing the present barbarous and bloody Vsurpers, especially in a place soe neere and oportune for the seconding any such enterprize as that under your charge; I haue thought good to desire and require you, to gather & entertaine as many souldiers, and to provide what store of armes & munition you can possibly, and as may consist with the necessary subsistence of y^e garrison under your com'and, to be ready to be seasonably transported on any good occasion: In w^{ch} busines soe highly conducing to the good of my seruice, as I am very confident your particular relation and affection to my person and interests will prompt you to imploy your utmost industry and assistance, soe you may rest assured, that w^t you shall therein performe shall ever be acknowledged on any seasonable occasion that may manifest your deserts and y^e esteeme and kindnes I haue for you, who am

Your loving friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2 Oct. 1650.

The KING to Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE.

Taken from a Copy.*

S^r Rich: Greenville, though it be not seasonable for me to giue powers to any to appeare for me, in regard of the

of that particular Scottish faction which kept him enthralled, was engaged in a plan to join the opposite party, but was prevented by actual force. There is a letter of Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington, in the *Miscellanea Aulica*, p, 152, which gives an interesting detail of those events.

* This Letter is highly deserving of notice, as a proof both of the good policy and of the good heart of the youthful Mo-

diverse affect'ons and dispositions of ye people I haue to deale with in the present conjuncture of my affaires, yet I held it requisite to cherishe the good affect'ons of those who haue the like kindnes for me as I haue observed in you, desiring you to continue constant therein, and to keepe your selfe in readines for my employments when it shalbe seasonable, and in the meane time not only to be your selfe very secret and circumspect in what concernes my interests, but by all meanes to procure that all others be soe likewise, least if the Rebells shall discern and apprehend any disposition & intention in any of my good subjects to assist me, they shall, to p^event the same, use violence on those that are best inclined to my service. I haue soe great confidence in your affection as I am assured of your readines, and when there shalbe a fitt opportunity you shall be sure to heare from

Your very louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2^d of S^{ber} 1650.

The Duke of YORK to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Sir Edw. Nicolas, though I haue much desired your company and aduise, yet not with the hinderance of the Kings seruise, nor your one inconuenience: but that now vpon the death of the Prince of Orange I haue more neede of your councell then euer, which I desir you to comunicat to me by letter or any other waye as you shall thinke fitt. I desire you also to moue my Lord Culpeper* for monye

narch. Shortly after this he lost a warm friend in the Prince of Orange, who died on the 24th of this month.

* The first peer of that name. He supported the King's

to defray the charges of the Kings horses; as well for the Kings honor, as to preserve 3 of the best of them for the Kings use. I desire you would advise me whether I may not presse my Lord Culpeper to lend me 1500 or 2000 Pounds, to be repayd if the King allow it not: the wanting of those supplies which I expected from the King and the Prince of Orange enforces me to this councell, wherein I desire your assistance with my Lord Culpeper if you aproue of it: desiring you to beleieve that I shall euer be

Your very affectionat friend,

JAMES.

Bruxells, Nouem: 12. 1650.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

2-12^o Nobris 1650. R. 8-18^o. The D. of Yorke from
Bruxells to me.

Copie of y^e DUKES letter to my Lord CULPEPER.

My Lord, the Kinges horses are to be sold for money to pay for their meat. Some of them are much pris'd by his Maty, and cannot be sold to their worth: therefore I desire that you would laye downe the money due for their charges, so that the Kinges honor may be preserued, and the best of y^e horses still kept for y^e Kings use: wth w^{ch} I am sure his Matie wilbe well pleased.

I rest your louinge friend,

Bruxells, Novemb. 12, 1650.

JAMES.

cause with great loyalty during the whole of Civil War, and was an exile, for twelve years, with Charles the Second; on whose Restoration he was made Master of the Rolls.

The Duke of YORK to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.*

Sir Edw. Nicholas, I haue receiued yours of the 8. of Nouember from the Hage, and with it that from Dicke Fanshaw, and I haue as you desired me lett the King know why I had you not heare with me, which he knows very well was not your fault, and I am sure he is well satisfyde with you, and has the same esteeme he always had for you, of which I am confident before this tyme you haue knowledge of in his hauing sent for you to come heither to him, which makes mee now that I shall not say any thing more to you, because I hope to see you shortly, till when you may assure your selfe that I shall euer be

Your most assured freind,

Paris, Nou. 18, 1651.

JAMES.

 The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Paris, April 6, 1652.

Mr. Sec. Nicholas, I haue receaued yours of the 28^{of} the last month, and doe very well approue of your sending me intelligence in your letters to the Chancelour,† by whom you shall againe receaue my pleasure, and information of all my purposes and resolutions, and directions concerning your selfe, w^{ch} the unsetlednesse of my condition heitherto

* This letter was written after the unfortunate battle of Worcester, fought on the 3d of September. It was on the 2d of November that Charles landed in Normandy.

† The Earl of Clarendon ; but he is not marked on the lists as Chancellor until 1658 : the Great Seal effectively being at that period in commission.

bath kept me from sending so positiuely to you, as I hope shortly to doe. In the meane time assure your selfe I rely upon noe mans fidelitie and affection more then on yours, and you shall allwais find me to be

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

The Princess Dowager of ORANGE to Sir EDWARD
NICHOLAS.

Breda, 21 July, 1653.*

Mr. Secretarie, I haue been so long without giuing you thanks for all y^r letters, that if I did not hope you would not impute it to neglect, I should not know which way now to desire you to continu, but your knowing how little I loue this exercise will (I dout not) justifie mee enough in y^r opinion. I am very vnertain of my stay here, because it depends vpon his Majestis remoue,† who I wish with all my hart would not come into these parts till hee sees what becoms of the treaty, for I do much apprehend at last thay

* From the Princess Dowager of Orange, in reference to the Treaty then pending between Holland and the English Commonwealth. The negociations were finally settled on the 5th May, 1654.

† Charles the Second was then at Paris. From a letter written by Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington very soon after this period, it appears that the King's dependance on Dutch friendship was greater than his sister's, as he believed the eagerness to conclude a treaty with Cromwell was not the wish of the States, but merely of a party which then was predominant. Vide *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 158.

will agree: the Hollanders desiring nothing more. By this imagine how ill his Maties reception will bee: Pray let mee know your opinion of this, and whether you beleeue ther will be a peace, which in doing you will much oblige

Your affectionate friend,

MARIE.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Paris, Sept: 28, 1653.*

Nicholas, I am very well pleased with the paines I perceave by your letters to the Chancelour you take in my seruice, and you must upon all occasions lett those good men know, who communicate freely with you, that I am very sensible of their affections to me w^{ch} I will requite when it shall be in my power: I am exceedingly troubled at any factions and iealosyes amongst those who wish me well, and will use all my power to compose them, and if you meete with any who have hearetofore bene averse to those wayes, w^{ch} haue bene most conducinge to my seruice, or bene opposite to that party w^{ch} hath bene most tender of me, you may confidently assure them, if they haue now changed ther mindes, I will be there hartly frind, and be very carfull to aduance there interest, and to requite there good will: In the particular w^{ch} you and Sr M. L: haue consulted, I thinke best to acquiesse in that generall,

* This letter was written only a few weeks previous to Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate. The initials in the latter part evidently refer to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Mons. Befort.

untill there shall be some declaration of at least an inclination towards me, and you shall let Mon^r Be: (to whom you are to commend me kindly) know that I shall then make it appeare, that it is in my power to add more strenght to those states then is imaginable: if you haue interest in any discreete person who is a confident of Count Williams, I would be glad he should know, that I haue great kindnesse for him, and doe much depend upon his good will and frindshipe to me in all my concernements, as indeede I do;* proceede as you haue begun, w^{ch} is very acceptable to

Your constant louing frind,

CHARLES R.

Copie of the KINGS (CHARLES II.) Letter to the Duke of GLOCESTER, concerning his being tempted to turne Papist.

Deare Brother,

Coloigne Nov: 10: 1654.†

I have receaued yo^{rs} without a date in w^{ch} you tell me that Mr. Montague has endeauord to pervert you from yo^r religion. I doe not doubt but you remember very well ye com'ands I left wth you at my going away concerning y^t

* The King's mode of expression with respect to Count Williams is extremely remarkable. It seems as if policy had taught him sometimes to express fauour and affection to those for whom he had a very different feeling, and towards whom, the addition of "as indeede I do" would not have been strictly consistent with truth.

† The King left Paris for Cologne on the 18th of October, and there he received much attention and kindness from the Princes of Germany.

point. I am confident you will observe them: yet yo^r letters that come from Paris say that it is y^e Queenes purpose to do all shee can to change yo^r religion,* in w^{ch} if you do hearken to her or any body els in that matter, you must never thinke to see England or mee againe, & w^tsoever mischiefe shall fall on mee or my affaires from this time I must lay all upon you as being y^e only cause of it. Therefore consider well what it is to bee not onely y^e cause of ruining a Brother that loves you so well, but also of yo^r King & Country. Do not lett them p[']suaide you either by force or faire p[']mises; for the first they neither dare, nor will use, and for the second, as soone as they have perverted you they will haue their end, and then they will care no more for you. I am also informed y^t there is a purpose to putt you into y^e Jesuits' Colledge, w^{ch} I command

* In some private instructions given by the King to the Duke of York, and dated the 13th July, 1654, there is a passage which confirms Charles's anxiety about his brother, and strongly marks the Queen's breach of promise on this subject. "I have told you that the Queen hath promised me concerning my brother Harry in point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt shall be made upon him to the contrary; in which case you will take the best care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, since you cannot but know how much you and I are concern'd in it." Vide *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 108. The "Mr. Montague" alluded to was Walter Montague, who had lately entered into Priest's orders, and, upon the death of Father Philips, became the Queen's confessor. Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, speaks of his "busy temper, spiritual pride, and furious zeal;" vide vol. II. p. 163. Some further particulars of this bigoted Abbot of Pontoise, who was second son of the Earl of Manchester, may be found in page 676, vol. II. of the Sidney Papers.

you upon y^e same grounds neuer to consent unto. And when soever any body shall goe to dispute wth you in religion doo not answere them at all. For though you haue the reaso' on yo^{re} side, yett they being prepared will haue y^e aduantage of any body y^t is not upon y^e same security that they are. If you do not consider what I say unto you, Remember the last words of yo^{re} dead Father, w^{ch} were to bee constant to yo^r religion & neuer to bee shaken in it. W^{ch} if you doe not obserue, this shall bee y^e last time you will heare from

(Deare Brother)

yo^r most affectionate brother,

CHARLES R.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.*

Mr. Secretarie, I amē verie glade to finde by your letter that you are safelic arrined and all your companie at Aix, † and that you found the King and my Neece ‡ so well in health and so kinde one to the other, which has euer bene so since I haue knowen them. I beleue indeed the seperation will be hard, but when there is no remedie one must

* Written by the Queen of Bohemia, sister to Charles the First. This, and several others, are very interesting specimens of her Majesty's style of epistolary correspondence. She seems to have possessed an admirable facility of introducing a greater variety of persons and things into a smaller space than falls to the lot of mankind in general. In short, her letters in this volume form an interesting commentary upon the grave affairs of that important period.

† Aix-la-Chapelle.

‡ Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans.

be content. As for my iourney up hill I cannot tell what to say to it, Sr Charles Cottrell * shall informe you how it goes but slowlie on, and which is stranger that it is not my fault. Dr. Morley has made a verie good description of the Queene of Sweden:† she gaue an assignation to the French Ambassadour to meet her at Breda, whither he went, and so did the Prince and Princess‡ of Tarente and most of our French gallants, who came all sneaking home againe,

* He is repeatedly mentioned in letters from the Elector Palatine to his mother, preserved in Bromley's Collection; and appears to have been attached to the personal service of the Queen of Bohemia.

† The far-famed Christina. It was in this year that she abdicated the Throne. There were several personal squabbles between the Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Ex-Queen of Bohemia; and the former felt a considerable jealousy of Elizabeth, who at this period was the correspondent of Des Cartes and of William Penn. Christina, even after her abdication, still attempted to mingle in politics. She even affected to treat and negotiate with Cromwell. She also offered several personal slights to the Queen of Bohemia: which may account for the manner in which she is spoken of upon several occasions.

‡ Her Majesty's spleen against Christina seems to have affected her feelings even towards her own relations; for Emilia, Princess of Tarente, was daughter of William, Elector of Hesse Cassel, whilst Charles, the Elector Palatine, son to the Queen, was married to Charlotte, another daughter of the Hessian Elector. The Prince was Henry Charles de la Tremouille, then in the service of the States, and in command of the Hessian cavalry. His connexion with these august families procured him to be chosen a Knight of the Garter in 1653, along with the young Duke of Gloucester.

for her greefe was so great for the beating of the Spanish armie before Arras * as she would not goe to Breda. She sent another account than that to the Ambassadour as you may imagin, but the Landgrave writt the truth to his neece the Princess of Tarente. We haue yet heere no particullars of this defeat, but in generall it is a verie great one. I long to heare what part my godsonne had in it, for I still thinke of him, being my cheefest comfort next your excellent Master. I am verie glad your daughter is so well, † I doe not wonder at it, she is soe well vsed, and now she has her father with her she is the more content, and I take it verie well that all this makes her not forget her frends heere. I assure you I long to haue her heere againe. I am verie sorie for poore Killigrew, ‡ she was a verie good gentlewoman. You will heare by Mrs Howards letter howe great a scape my little Nephue escaped yesterday vpon the bridge at the Princess of Orange's house, but God be thanked there was no hurt onelie the coache broken: I tooke him into my coache and brought him home. The Princess of Orange went from hence vpon Saterdag, and you will haue our Baron shortlie with you at Aix, he will tell you the second part of the Queene of Sweden, for he comes from her to your Court. to morrow I beleeeve I

* Allusive to the defeat of the Spaniards by the French on St. Louis's day, when their lines were forced, whilst besieging Arras, with great slaughter.

† Lady of Sir Richard Browne, and mother-in-law of John Evelyn.

‡ "Kate Killigrew," daughter of Lord Stafford. She had been Maid of Honour to the Queen upwards of eight years. A curious letter, introducing this lady to her Majesty, in 1646, may be referred to in Bromley's Royal Letters, p. 135.

shall goe a shooting, which I haue not done since you went. I am verie glade to heere that you are established in your plaçe, which you desarve so well. this is no complement but the verie truth from

Your most affectionat frend,

Hage, Aug. 31.

ELIZABETH.

I am verie sorie for my Lo: Wentworths sickness. I pray lett him know so from me, and remember me to Mr. Chancellour.

I pray remember my humble seruice to the King: the news of beating the Scotch* is now tolde quite contrarie by a ship come from thence.

“ For Mr. Secretarie.”

Indorsed by Sir E. N. 31^o Aug: st: No: 1654. R. 3^o. 7^{bris}.
Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh, Sep: 7 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you both for the good news you writt to Sr Charles Cottrell out of Holland, and for your letter I receaued this morning with the relation of the defeat before Arras. I hope you will send that of Holland to Curtius† that the belef of the Scotch defeat may not be

* This was a trifling affair; being merely a check given to Lilburn the Parliamentary General, who commanded during Cromwell's absence.

† Curtius had long been the English agent, at Frankfort, to the German Princes. He had been Secretary to the King of Bohemia, and in 1640 was also employed by Charles the First in Germanic diplomacy.

continued in Germanie. but none pleaseth me better then what you write of my deere Godsonne,* and the continuance of my Neeces good health. The Queen of Sweden is yett at Anwerp, wee looke euerie day to see the Landgrave heere, and by him I shall know what she will doe. It is certaine that the flux is much in Monkes army,† a Scotchman that is come from thence reports it, and all the particulars you haue written. Dr. Morley has a letter from Anwerp of some trouble by a discouerie of a new treason in London of the levellers against his pretious highness, but I beleue you will haue more particullars of that then wee heere.‡ Dr. Earle settts forwards to morrow to Breda and so to Aix. I doe not write to you by him because this will be sooner with you. Our Baron has sent for his man Smith to meet him God knows where, for I doe not, I beleue you will haue him at Aix: he is the direct wandring Jew. My Ladie Herbert is looked for heere shortlie, but she was not come from Paris the last week. I heare Mrs Hide§ is

* We have been unable precisely to ascertain the "godson" here alluded to. In her Majesty's letters preserved in the Bromley Collection, there are frequent allusions to him. In one place (Bromley, p. 286) she speaks of him under the name of "Tint;" but this seems merely a playful manner of writing to a familiar friend.

† Monk commanded in Scotland at this period; having superseded Lilburn, Morgan, and other parliamentary officers.

‡ This was immediately after Cromwell's well-known treatment of the House of Commons, and his assumption of the Protectorate. It was on the 3d of this month that he called together his first mock parliament; and eight days after the date of this letter, the members swore fealty to him.

§ This lady was afterwards Duchess of York, and, though not yet married to the Duke, at this period she seems to have

to come to my Neece in Mrs Killegrews place, which I am verie glad of, she is verie fitt for itt and a great fauorit of mine, who ame euer

Your most affectio
nat Frend,



I pray lett my Lord Wentworth know I ame extreme glade he is of the kings councell, being so much his frend as I ame I cannot but wish him much ioye of it.

Indorsed, 7^o Sep^{bris} 1654. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

The QUEEN of BOHEMIA to MR. Secretary NICHOLAS.

Hagh, Sep: 15. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I assure you your letters are always verie welcome to me. I hope before this come to you, you will receaue a pacquet from Scotland which came to Rotterdam, and ould Will. Kepley caries himself to Aix. I shall be

engaged much of the royal attention. Charles, in a letter to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, in 1655, says, "I will try whether Sir S. Compton be so much in love as you say, for I will name Mrs. Hyde before him so by chance, that except he be very much smitten it shall not at all move him." Sir Spencer Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, was so loyal and gallant in his infancy, that, as Sir Philip Warwick informs us, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation he cried because he was not exposed to the same hazard his brothers were.

verie glad to know what news it brings, because heere is againe news of Monkes being beaten, which a man of Middleton writes to Straghen from Straven or such a name, and from my Lo. of [illegible], and that all long for the King. Stone is at last here, he saith that Cromwell will be now either King or Emperour, I wish him the latter. he has heard nothing of Bamfeld, but I easilie beleue he is honnest enough to be well used by Cromwell, he tells the Fleet as you hear, but it will not be beleued heere. This day the assemblie of Hollande begins. theire agent in Sueden writt to the States Generall, that Sr George Fleetwood, brother to him that is Leftenant of Irland, tolde him that he knew Cromwell had saide he woulde keepe the peace with the States no longer then he found it good for his interests, and woulde break with the first occasion that he can for the good of his deseins. Those of Hollande are verie angrie at the agent for writing this: those that have seene the letter tolde it me. it is so late as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.*

I pray remember me to my lord Wentworth, I have not time to answer his letter but will doe it by the first post.

15^o 7bris 1654. R: \overline{r} . Qu: of Bohemia.

* The following letters of the Queen of Bohemia, where her name is not subscribed, are signed with her cipher, as in pp. 198 and 219.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Mr. Secretary NICHOLAS.

Hage, Sep: 21.

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you for yours of the 18 of Sept: yesterday I was tolde that all the people at Bruxelles were sending theire goods to Antwerp for feare of the French.* Some in a ship come out of England say that the mock Parliament beginn to dispute their priuiledges with Cromwell, but I feare they will but too well agree. I ame verie glade the King used Prince Williame and his ladie† so well. Boswell‡ is well enough serued, but I pittie him for he is vtterlie vndone. there is heere no news at all, onelie Mons^r de Winmenom is verie sick. the States of Holland are assembled, but Bredero^ke, Opdam, and Merode are not yett come. it is now verie faire weather. when the Princess of Tarents picture is ended by Louyr, which will be this day, then I may chance goe a shooting,§ which I have not done since you went. I pray deliuer this inclosed to the King with my humble service. I ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray lett me know if the Queene of Sueden did write to the King by my Lord of Norwich, and if she did it ciuilie or not. Sure Dick Harding is growen a fish in his

* In consequence of the war existing in Flanders, between France and Spain.

† Sister of the late Stadtholder.

‡ Sir William Boswell, already noticed.

§ Hunting seems also to have been a very favourite amusement of her Majesty of Bohemia. It is frequently alluded to in these letters; and in those of Bromley's Collection, sixteen years previous, there are several references to it.

baths, for he is as mute as one, tell him so from me. I think the King had better stay where he is then to goe to Collein, he will not be so much at his leisure there as at Aix, those of Collein are odd people, so as I am of your opinion.

$\frac{1}{2}$ 7bris 1654. R. $\frac{1}{2}$.⁴. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Mr. Secretary NICHOLAS.

Mr. Secretarie, I am verie glade that I shall see my Neece heere so soone, and I thanke you for all your other news. I beleue Dr. Morley will write those that he heares out of England of Cromwells dessolving of his Parliament,* for being so ungratious as not to doe as he woulde haue them. it was confirmed to me the last night by one of the States Generall, for three of ther Deputies are come from London that were sent about the treatie of the Amb'ors and the other disputes; they confirme all, but it was so

* This evidently alludes to the transactions on the 3d of September, 1654, when Cromwell summoned that Parliament which he immediately afterwards dissolved for their opposition to his assumption of the Protectorate; a rank and authority which, up to that date, rested solely upon a proclamation of the Council, but was not sanctioned by the people. The speech, which the Queen of Bohemia alludes to, was that remarkable one on the first sitting of the House; when a member, after denying the authority which had called them together, boldly exclaimed, "that as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one man, so now he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, who had no right to the government but by the length of his sword."

late that I coulde not heare of the particullars. the same State tolde me there was a speech of part of the orange and red men in rebellion against his pretious highness. I pray tell your daughter all this, for I had sealed her letter before I had the certaintie of the news. I ame verie glad the king resolves to stay at Aix, it is much better then Collein. I heare there is one that has heeretofore served my Lo: of Brainford* paked from Scotland to the King but three days agoe, and came from thence but sixe days before, he would tell no news but made hast away. Soone as he went, there reached heere one Thomson, one I haue seene before: he tells all the particullars of the defeat that is so bragged of. he saith that they were dispersed vpon it, but it is aboue fiue weekes since he came from thence, being come thourough England by his countrie, the borders, where in his passage he mett with a partie where he was hurt and lamed, but for all that he is gone to the King. he much complaines of diuisions amongst them, and not of Sir George Monroe, which they doe also. I doe admire how people could tell so great a lye as the pacquet, but it is verie common amongst my councitriemen.—Phil: Mohun is heere, she is fled from England fearing to be imprisoned by Cromwell, shes verie good companie and talkes verie free lie but handsomlie. My Ladie Herbert is also heere, since Sunday last; I haue had yett no time to aske her anie thing, hauing not seene her since Sunday. Thom: Doleman† is heere and desires leeuie to see me, which I

* Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth in Scotland. He had been General of Charles's forces during the Rebellion; but was dead at the date of this letter.

† Dolman had suffered much in the royal cause during the civil wars. He was a Berkshire gentleman, and his house at

haue put off untill I know the Kings pleasure: for hauing so openlie owned the setting forward of the treatie I will not see him without the Kings approbation. I haue writt thus to your daughter, and desire you both to know the Kings pleasure in it. I entreat you besides to remember my humble seruice to him, and keepe me still in his good opinion, for it is the best seruice and frendship you can doe to

Your most affectionat
frend.

Hagh, Sep. 29.

I bragg'd to soone of shooting, for since I wrote the weather has not serued.

“ For Mr. Secretarie.”

29^o 7^{bris} 1654. R: 8^{bris}. The Queene to me.

The QUEEN of BOHEMIA to Mr. Secretary NICHOLAS.

Hagh Oct. 2. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I send you heere a letter for the King, it is about a match betwixt Prince Adolphe the King of Suedes brother and Sophie;* he has desired it verie hand-somlie: my sonne has consented to it, reseruing the King of Suedens consent and mine, who ame to acquaint the King with it. I doe it now, and send you the copie of Prince Adolphes letter, I pray gett an answere from the

Shaw, just below Donnington Castle, was one of the points of attack during the battle of Newbury, making a good defence against Lord Manchester.

* Daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, afterwards married to the Elector of Hanover, and thence the stem of descent of the present Royal House of Brunswick.

King as soone as you can. I haue no more to say, but
ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray assure me to my Lo: Wentworth, I write not
now to him, I haue no time, for the post is readie to goe.
I pray say the same to reuerent Dick Harding.

“ 2o 8bris 1654. st. No. R. 4o. The Queene of Bohemia to
me concerning ye Kings consent for Presse Sophia to marry
Prce Adolph, ye King of Swedens brother.”

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Mr. Secretary NICHOLAS.

Hagh, Oct. 19. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, hearing that you may chance to stay all
this week at Collein, I send you this inclosed for the King,
to giue him humble thankes for his aprobaton of Sophies
mariage. You will haue vnderstood by Curtius all the
newes of Germanie, for his going to waite vpon the King.
You will finde by the English prints that they are forbidden
to write anie thing of the proceedings of their mock Parlia-
ment. I was at Delft to see the wrack that was made by
the blowing up of the powder this day seuenight, it is a sad
sight, whole streets quite razed; not one stone vpon an-
other, it is not yett knowen how manie persons are lost,
there is scarse anie house in the toune but the tyles are off.
—(*A great blot on the paper.*) Apollo with leaping into
my lapp has made this blott. Thom. Killegrew is heere,
who makes a rare relation of the Queene of Sueden. It is
verie colde, which I hope will diminish the plague. I pray
be confident that I am euer

Your most affectionat frend,

ELIZABETH.

I am extreme glade to heare that the King is satisfied with Ruperts letter, and that he has answered him so kindly. I pray doe poore Curtius all the fauour you can, that he haue something from the King to incourage him the more to serue him.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Mr. Secretary NICHOLAS.

Hagh No: 16. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, iust now I receaue yours, and for a cause that you shall know heereafter I now answer you, this is a riddle which none but your daughter and two more know. I was Satterday last with my best Neece* at Speiling, it being her birth day. I ashure you she is [in] much trouble for her deare Brother the D. of Gloucester, all the world woulde looke for no other I can witness for you.—I am sorie the King has so much cause of greef, I beseech God he may speedilie remedie it. I beleene my deare Nephue has a good resolution, but there is no trusting to one of his age. I confess I did not think the Queene woulde haue proceeded thus: all is kept heere verie secret that Prince Will: † doth in Overizel, but I am tolde that all goes well, and that Deventer which toune was the most against will doe well, as also Rupert who was of the other faction, ‡ not

* Perhaps the Princess Dowager of Orange, *par excellence*; especially as the whole passage seems to refer to the attempts made at Paris, by Queen Henrietta Maria and her friends, to induce the young Prince to change his religion.

† Prince of Nassau Dietz, married to the Stadtholder's sister.

‡ Evidently in allusion to the De Wit faction, which at this moment was disturbing the peace of the United Provinces. Their great object was to deprive the infant Stadtholder of his

against the P. of Orange but Marshals. I pray beleue me constantlie for I ame so

Your most affectionat frend.

I send you a letter for the best of Kings, tis about Thom. Killegrew's business. I pray remember me to Mr. Chancelour, and tell him his Ladie and my fauorit his daughter came hither upon Saterdag, and are gone this day to Teiling. I finde my fauorit growen euerie way to her aduantage.

$\frac{6}{16}^o$ Nobris 1654. R. $\frac{9}{13}^o$ The Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh De: 3. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I receaued yours at Berghen, whither I was come from Anwerp and Bruxells. I finde you haue vnridled my riddle verie right. I saw the Queene of Sweden at the play, she is extranagant in her fashion and apparel, but she has a good well fauoured face, and a milde countenance. One of the players that knew me tolde her who I was, but she made no shew of it. I went the next day to Bruxelles, where I saw the Arch-duc at mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgins. I lay at Sr Harry de Vics,* who was verie carefull and dilligent to doe me all the ser-

official power, and to give it solely to the Assembly of the States. This, in fact, was one of the articles which Cromwell enforced upon the States, as a *sine qua non*.

* Sir Henry de Vic had been long in the English service. He was with the Duke of Buckingham at Rochelle; and there are several well-written letters from him to Lord Conway, respecting that affair, in Hardwicke's Collection of State Papers.

vice he coulde. I stayed but Sunday at Bruxelles, and returned to Anwerp vpon Munday, and heearing from Duart how the Queene of Sueden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indiferent place, I made the more hast away the next day because I had no minde to speak with her since I heard how unhandsomelie she had spoken of the King my deare Brother and of the King my deare Nephue, and indeed of all our nation, so I auoided it and went away as soone as I had dined. Yett she sent Donoy to me with a verie civill message that she was sorie she coulde not use that ciuilitie to me as she both should doe and desired, hoping that one day wee might meet together with more freedome; I answered her as civillie as I coulde, and now when I went from Berghen I gaue Sr Will: Swann charge to make her a complement from me. I came hither vpon Tewsday from Berghen, where I was extremelie well intertained by the Princess of Zolern * who was with me and was my guide all the iourney, and defrayed me. her daughter is now so prettie euerie way that you would like her yet better than euer you did if you saw her; she is much growen and is still of a verie sweet disposition, and she doth become her: she has a great deal of witt and loues our nation extreamlie, it makes me think of your wishe † which I ame not against you know. by this post I haue had verie good news of the Duke of Glocesters constantie in his religion and of my Lo: of Ormonds handsome carriage in that business, ‡ so as the

* Francisca, daughter of Frederick the Rhingrave, and wife of John George Prince of Hohenzollern.

† Evidently allusive to a plan of producing a match between Charles II. and this young Princess, one of the daughters of the Zollern family.

‡ This alludes to the attempt made to force the young Duke

Queen saith she will press him no further in it, but I hope the King will not trust to it, but gett him away from thence, which will doe the King great right: it is so colde as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray excuse me to my Lo. Wentworth and reverent Dick Harding till the next.

“ For Mr Secretarie.”

3 Dec: St: No: 1645 R. 6^o. The Queene of Bohemia cong her iourney to see the Qu. of Sweeden.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh Dec: 21. (1651).

Mr Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 18 of this month. I long to heare my sweet Nephue* is at Bruxelles. My Neece has sent Nick: Armourer to meet him there. I haue written to him by him, if the King woulde permitt him to take this place and Teiling in his way from Bruxelles he woulde make his Sister † and me verie glade: he need not make such hast to see him, it is but the other day since

of Gloucester into the Jesuits' College; from which, and other attempts upon his religion, he was only saved by the handsome conduct of the Marquis of Ormond, who voluntarily offered his services to the King to snatch his brother out of the hands of the Queen-mother and her bigoted Confessor Montague. Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. II. pages 163—7, contains a very amusing account of the whole transaction, very much to the credit of the Marquis.

* The Duke of Gloucester, who was just brought from Paris by the Marquis of Ormond.

† The Princess Dowager of Orange.

he was with him, but it is much longer since wee saw him, and I am sure our hogen Moghens will take no notice of it if they be not asked the question as they were for the King's comming to Breda. To be with his Sister some time can doe him no harme. I haue taken the boldness to write the same by my Lo: Gerard * to the King, who I beleue will be with you as soone as this letter, for he went from hence vpon Saterday last. We heere nothing of the rebells fleet heerabouts, but they say that Blag † is to ioine with the Spanish fleet against the Duke of Guise. The French Ambassadour beleuees the treatie with Cromwell as good as broken; he is much ioyed that the meeting betwixt the Queene of Sueden and P. of Condé ‡ was to neither of their content, for he desired to be receaued as the Queene receaued the Ardduc, which she refused, saying she had done too much in that and woulde

* Lord Gerard of Bromley; now extinct.

† Admiral Blake is the personage here alluded to. The Duke of Guise died very soon after this letter was written, in consequence of wounds received at the siege of Arras.

‡ Yet the Prince de Condé was a great admirer of Christina, and observed upon one occasion — “How great is the magnanimity of this Princess, who could so easily give up that for which mankind are continually destroying each other, and which so many throughout their whole lives pursue without attaining!” Condé, at the period here recorded, was in exile at Brussels; and though he felt offended upon the score of etiquette, her abdicated Majesty seems to have treated him with great familiarity, exclaiming “Cousin! who would have thought ten years ago that we should have met at this distance from our countries?” The Prince might have thanked her for his exile, as it arose partly from her intermeddling in the affairs of the Fronde in France, a few years previous.

doe so no more, yet he came to see her *brusquement a l'improvist*, and did nothing but *railler* her in his talke, which putt her so out as she said almost not one worde. This was in the morning; after dinner she sent to know if he woulde see the play at night, he said he would obey her, but desired to know whither he shoulde come knowen or as vnknown, for if he came as Prince of Condé he looked tohaue a *chaise a bras* as the Archduc had—she saide he had better come unknowen, so he came, and she stood all the play, railling with Mon^r Quito the Princes favourit. the next day the P. went to Bruxelles, and neither of them well satisfied with the other. My La: Swann will be heere within a few days, by her I shall know more of this: I haue heard the reason of Sr Henry de Vics iourney to Coloign:* since it is a doting time for the kings oulde Ministers of State, I thanke God your wife is yet aliue, for feare you should fall in loue againe. I pray lett me know when that wedding will be, for I (will) send you a letter to reverent Dick to bespeak him for brideman. I thank you for your congratulation of Apollos † returne, you know how great a favorit he is to

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray tell my Ladie Hide I ame verie glade she is so well come to Coloigne.

“For Mr Secretarie.”

‡ Dec: 1654. R. †. The Qu: of Bohemia cog the Pr. of Condé ond the Qu: of Sweedes being unsatisfied wh each other.

* It was an affair of courtship! Her Majesty again alludes to it in p. 213.

† Her Majesty's lap-dog, already noticed!

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh, Dec: 27 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, since you wrote yours, I understand that that arch villaine Manning has receaved his iust desert.* I wish all those of his cabal with him. I wish I might know whome he has accused on this side the sea, to auoide them, but this is onelie in case you may tell it, for I doe not desire it otherwise; I haue curiositie enough to desire to know the rest, but I will not desire but as you think fitt. There is little news heere, the King of Sueden † has a sonne borne to him and has and prospers exceedingly. the K. of Poland ‡ is in Silesia, hunts and passeth

* Of this Manning a remarkable anecdote is related in a scarce tract, now in the British Museum, which professes to give a memoir of Charles during his exile.

“Before his Majesty’s departure from Colen, there happened a discovery of one of those persons who, under pretence of waiting upon him (Capt. Manning by name) discovered unto the Protector all his designs and counsels; who being found out, was by his Majesty’s command, sent to a strong castle adjacent to Colen, there to be kept close prisoner. But all the Court being highly incensed against him for his perfidiousnesse, one of his Majesty’s servants (though contrary to order) pistoled him as he was lighting out of the coach at the Castle gate, giving him less than the due reward of his so abominable treachery.” It was by this Manning that Penruddock was betrayed. He corresponded with Thurloe.

† Charles Gustavus Duke of Deux Ponts, who had recently succeeded the abdicated Christina.

‡ The well-known John Casimir. The Queen’s observations seem almost prophetic; as the whole of Poland was conquered

his time with little care of anie thing else, this I haue from his owne resident, but I feare the Electour of Brandebourg* will be in a ill condition if he doe not make an agreement with the King of Sueden. it is beleued that Prince Williame will be shortlie Marschall of the Feelde: those that were so much against him are not now so fierce: else there is no news, onely Scone is come, and I hope all will be well ended in that foolish business. I ame euer
 Your most affectionat frend.

Mr. Charles Cottrell, my Lo: Wentworth, † and reverent Dick Harding, I cannot write to them now for lack of time. I pray say the same to Mons^r Soiret from me.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh Jan: 4 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 29th at my returne vpon Thursday last from Teiling, and this morning I haue letters from Bruxelles, who tell me that my deare nephue the D. of Gloucester was there vpon new years eue

by the Swedes in less than two years after the date of this epistle.

* George William, grandfather of the first King of Prussia.

† Lord Wentworth had been high in command, during the Civil Wars; and after Goring went to France, a second time, he had the command of the Western Army: Yet Bulstrode says of him that "he was a very lazy and unactive man, and was not thought either of interest, experience, courage, or reputation enough for that trust which was devolved upon him."

There are some curious anecdotes of him in Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 150, &c.

the same day I was at Teiling, but when he came thither or goes from thence I know not. I am extreme glade the King permitts (him) to see his sister and me. I hope he will suffer him to stay some time with my deare Necce, it will be a great contentment to her and no hurt to him, and as long as there is nothing tolde to the States of him, they will take no notice of it, this I know is true. I am sorrie for poore Sr Henry de Vic,* for lett the match break or goe on, it is euerie way ill for him: We heare no certaintie heere how the French treatie with the rebels in England goes, whither it breake or peece.† I am verie sorrie for the Countess of Mortons death,‡ I pittie Sr Thom. Berkley, but most her children. the Queene of Sueden is now at Bruxelles, where she was receaued in greate state: I beleeue the Arch-duke § wisheth her at Anwerp, for she persecutes him verie close with her companie, for you know he is a verie modest man. I haue written to the King some particullars of it which are verie rare ons, but the Prince of Condé is still verie unsatisfied with her and will not come

* Sir Henry de Vic, in the early part of Charles the First's reign, had been his Majesty's Secretary for the French mission, and also agent to the King of Denmark. See p. 210,

† In January the cavaliers were stirring, but in vain; and in the following November, Cromwell made peace with the French. The Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Prince of Condé seem to have been meddling with those affairs, through the diplomatic exertions of the Count de Tott; as may be seen by reference to a letter in Bromley's Collection, p. 186.

‡ Widow of William Earl of Morton, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and long in great personal favour with Charles the First.

§ Archduke of Austria.

at her. I haue one peece of news which it may be you haue not heard: the resident of Polande tells me that there is a treatie betwixt Sueden and Polande and a perpetual peace, and to assist one the other against the Muscovits: the King of Poland will quit his pretention to Sueden vpon condition that he be recompenced with some lande or Islande for his heire, that if they be not chosen to succeed the kingdome of Polande, they may haue some place to them selfs to liue in, for the K. of Polande has no patrimonie of his owne nor can buy anie lande under the crowne of Poland: his agent has order to goe for England, to see if Cromwell woulde send some ships against the Muscovits to make a diuersion. the good agent is verie vnwilling to goe, but he must obey his master. Sure Cromwell is the beast in the Revelations that all kings and nations doe worship; I wish him the like end and speedilie, and you a hapie new yeare as *

your most affectionat frend.

“ For Mr. Secretarie.”

4^o Jan: St, No: 1654-5. R: 7. Qu; Bo:

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh Jan: 10 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I beleeeue you will heare at Collein how I haue beene debauched this last week in sitting up late to see dancing. wee made Friday out and every night, which

* Her Majesty's political gossip in this epistle is highly deserving the notice of the historian. A preceding note shews that the proposed peace between Poland and Sweden was of very short duration.

lasted till Saturday at five a clock in the morning, and yesterday was the christening of P. Will:* childe: I was at the supper: my Neece, the P^s douager, the little Prince † and P. Maurice were gossips: the States generall, I meane their Deputies, and the Counsell of State, and myself and Louyse were there as guests. after super was dancing this (till) three a clock, my little Nephue was at the super and sett verie still all the time: those States that were there were verie much taken with him. the King of Sueden with his army is within an houres going from Kunisberg with twenty thousand men, most horse. the Elector is in the toune and has also which they say is twentie thousand also, he has [*torn off*,] foot then the King has [*also torn*] ‡ Ambassadour goe this week from hence towards Sueden and Dennemark, one of those that goes for Dennemarke is Mon^r d'Ameron a gentleman of Utrecht, a verie honest and great Royalist and so you may be sure my great frend, but I belecue they will doe but little with that King, for I am tolde from a good hande that he and the K. of Sueden are in verie good intelligence together, which I am not sorie for considering how little these States assist there allies. My deare Neece continues her resolution of going from hence Thursday next, but I dout the weather will hinder for it thaughts apace.

I ame euer your most affectionat frend.

* This evidently refers to William Frederick, Count and Prince of Nassau Dietz, who had married Albertine Agnes, sister of the late Prince of Orange.

† Afterwards William the Third of England, then only four years of age.

‡ This alludes to the first invasion of Poland by Gustavus, who marched from Pomerania into that Kingdom after the irruption made by his order, by General Wirtemberg.

I have not time to write to write to Mons: Soiret, but tell him he was wished here vpon Friday last. I haue written to my Nephue all the particullars of what they were and who was best dressed.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh, Jan. 11 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I hope my next will tell you of my sweet Nephues being wellcome to Teiling, for Mr. Lovell assures vs all heere that he is perfectlie well. I beleeeue Mr. Fraiser is not sorie to haue a commission to waite upon him this way, for soe he may see his Mistris though she will not confess him so. I know not how your people at Colloigne *

* Charles the Second now kept his Court at Cologne, but in great privacy. Sir Stephen Fox is described by Bulstrode, as having the care, management, and disposal, of his household, which he kept at an expence of not more than six hundred pistoles *per* month. In fact, such was the royal economy, that Charles never kept a coach during his long stay in that City. "In the time of the King's banishment," adds Bulstrode, "he spent two years at Cologne, where he was well received by a widow, at whose he lodged."

In a letter written by the King to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and preserved in the *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 109, it appears that Charles led a very rational and sober life whilst at Cologne. He says: "I hope it will not be many days before you see how we pass our time at Collen, which tho' it be not so well as I could wish, yet I think it is as well as some of you do at Paris; at least some that are here would not pass their time so well there as they do here."

In another letter, Charles mentions a design of himself and the Princess Dowager of Orange, to go to the Frankfort Fair *incognito*.

goe on with their business, but our resident Thom. was asked yesterday for the first time, and so was Jack Sayers. I feare resident Halle will not haue by much so good a bargaine, but how Bess who is left at Bruxelles will take it, for she has written a terrible letter to Sr Charles Cottrell of it, and how confident she is of her Masters honestie to her, so as she may chaunce forbid the baine. Vicfort tolde me yesterday that Bourdeaux has order to stay yett in England, which shews what you beleue is true. the news I writt to you of Poland and Sweden is most true, and that De Bre makes still his monitions to goe for England.

Wee had a Royaltie, though not vpon twelf night, at Teiling, where my Neece was a gipsie and became her dress extreame well was a Northolland boorine; Mrs. Hide * a shephardess and I assure was verie handsome in it, none but her Mistress looked better than she did. I beleue my Lady Hide and Mr. Chancelour will not be sorie to heare it, which I pray tell them from me. the queene of Sueden takes a house at Anwerp, all her owne people leaues her and Italiens and Spaniards comes in their place. Heere is little news stirring. I beleue you heare of the quarrelle betwixt my soone and the Elector of Ments, it may come to some † ill business. it is so colde and they make such a noise with their bells and pleids in (the) street as makes me end, but am euer

your most affectionat frend.

I pray remember my humble seruise to the King, and in my name make an humble suit to him in Thom: Kille-

* Afterwards Duchess of York; but then in the household of Princess Dowager of Orange.

† A trifling dispute about boundaries.

grews* behalf. It is to recommend him to Pr. William for Captaine Morgans companie who is dead. the companie lyes at Orzo and is under Eri . . . e, it will make him to subsist untill the King be able to doe for him, and his wiues frends haue putt him upon it. I woulde not trouble his Matie with a letter since you are in the place. Thom: writes himself to the King about it; it will be a great honnour for him the Kings writing because his wiues frends will by that . . . his Maties favour to him.

“ For Mr. Secretarie.”

11^o Jan. 1654-5. R. $\frac{1}{17}$. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours. My sweet Nephue is not yett gone from Anwerp, but I hope now the weather is better, and I shall see him I hope shortlie, for as soon as he comes to Teiling I will be there. I hope it is a good prophesie of the Electrice of Brandebourg† hauing

* Killigrew, so well known in the private history of Charles's reign, was groom of his bedchamber after the Restoration, and happened to be engaged one morning with a volume of his own plays, which he took up in the window, whilst his Majesty was shaving. “ Ah ! Killigrew,” asked the King, “ what will you say at the last day, in defence of all the idle words in that book ?” To which the facetious Tom replied, that he would give a better account of his “ idle words ” than the King would do respecting *his idle promises* and *more idle patents*, which had undone more than ever his books did !

† The Electress Elizabeth Charlotte was daughter of Frederick V. Elector Palatine, and therefore sister-in-law to her Bohemian Majesty.

a sonne, but she doth looke to be deliuered before the end of this month or the beginning of the next. The letters out of England say Cromwell is bringing his armie to London, and doubles his gardes, plants cannon in manie places in London and at the Toure; it is saide he will make himself King by force since he cannot be it otherwise: this is written to the P. of Torent. I doe not heare that Bariere is at Bruxelles. I will tell Thom. Killegrew what the King answeres. As for the Archduc he may thanke God to be ridd of the Queen of Sueden, who is lodged at the Count of Egmonts house in Bruxelles, where she stays all winter. My Lord Norwich has got news that the Archduc goes for Spaine, and Don John of Austria comes in his place and marrieth the Queene of Sueden, and to haue the Low Countries as the Archduc Albert, but I beleue it not: there is nothing else that I have to say to you but ame euer

Your most affectionate friend,

Hagh, Jan. 18.

18^o Jan: 1654-5. R: 11-21. Queene of Bohemia.



To her Royall Highness the Lady Princesse Dowager of ORANGE, from the STATES of HOLLAND and WEST-VRIESLAND.

Most excellent Princesse,

We were informed by some that the Lord King Charles your Royall Highnesses Brother should haue betaken himselfe within the limitts of this State, and particularly that he should at this present shelter himselfe in the house at Tylinge: And although we cannot by any meanes belieue or expect from the wisdome and reason of the said mighty Lord the King that he would or durst vndertake contrary

to the Treaty of Peace made the last yeare with the Commonwealth of England to come within the limitts of this State, and directly against our particular orders comprehended in our Resolutions of the 30th of July, 2^d and 4th of August all in the year 1653, and the writing made by the vertue thereof to be giuen to your Royall Highnes within the Province of Holland and West Vriesland: So haue we after good reasons, and for settling our selues in entire rest, found meete with these to set before the eyes of your Royall Highnes what is said before, with a desire and demaund that you will speedily declare, and assure vs of the truth hereof, nothing doubting, but desiring and requiring your Royall Highnes as much as in her lyes by all good offices and duties to be willingly helpfull to take heede and effect that the said mighty Lord the King doe not cast himselfe within the limitts of their high and mightines: and referring our selues thereto

Most excellent Princesse, We committ your Royall Highnes to Gods protection. Written in the Hague the 8th of March 1655. Your Royall Highnesses good friends

The STATES of HOLLAND and WEST-VRIESLAND.

By order of the same,

HERB'T VAN BEAUMONT.

1655.

The superscription.

“To her Royall Highnes the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange.”*

Indorsed by Sir Edw. Nicholas.

8^o Martij 1654-5. Copy of the translation of y^e let^r written by y^e States of Holl'd to y^e Prs^se Rll concg y^e K^s being reported to be at Tylinge.

* The obscure Editor of Grebner, in his astrological guesses, has the following curious one. Speaking of Charles I., he says,

Instructions for our trusty & well-beloued Seruant, RICHARD BROWNE, Clerke of our Privy Councill &c. (in 1640.)

Charles R.

Hauing occasion to send a person of trust into Holland, unto our deare Sister the Queene of Bohemia, and our Nephew the Prince Elector Palatin, Wee are pleased to make choise of you for the imployment, and for your better direction therein, to provide you wth the Instructions following:

You shall represent unto our Sister, and Nephew,* (wee beeing informed he hath a desire to passe over into these partes) how inconuenient it would be for our service if att present he should undertake the journey, and that wthall, it can noe ways aduantage his owne affaires, since we shall still haue the same care and affection for them, in his absence, as if he were present, and now especially in this Treaty between us and the States of the Vnited Provinces,

“ The old Prince of Aurange he almost beggard, and yet to no purpose; the Parliament one time or other getting all armes and ammunition which ever came over to him; its confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in England, Aurange had been King,” &c. In the margin this political conjuror adds—“ Its pittie Aurange lived not to master the Jew Hollander.”

* The Elector Palatine had been in England previous to this, and was then elected Knight of the Garter. In consequence of the present negociation, he did not proceed to England until 1643, two years afterwards. Perhaps Charles the First was aware of his possessing those sentiments which finally induced him to side with the Parliament, in opposition to his Royal Uncle.

and the Prince of Orange, wherein his interests shall not be forgotten.

That for the paper w^{ch} Sr Richard Cave * hath given us, Wee find it soe directly contrary to the interests of the States, and in itselfe impracticable, that from that ground, Wee cannot hope any effects conducible to the good of our Nephewes affaires, yet in the present Treaty we are resolved to endeauour y^e interest of him, and the House Palatine, soe farre as the present conjuncture of affaires will permit, it being one of the principall motiues that induced us to harken to this Alliance wth the States, and the Prince of Orange.

You are further to giue our Sister and Nephew, all reall assurances of our loue and affection to them, and particularly of our desires, that all misunderstands (if such there chaunce to haue bin) that haue happened either in circumstance or otherwayes, concerning the ouuertures of this Marriage † intended betweene our eldest daughter and the Prince of Oranges son, may be taken away: Wee foreseeing that nothing can be of more aduantage to them in their present condition, then that there be a cleare vnderstanding, and all reall friendship betweene them, and the Prince

* This Sir Richard Cave appears to have been much engaged in the affairs of Holland and the Palatinate. In Bromley's Collection of Royal Letters, he is mentioned by the Count Palatine in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia, as Captain Cave; he was then serving in the army, and occasionally employed in diplomatic affairs.

† The marriage took place on the 2d of May 1641, when the Princess was only twelve years of age; and it is a curious fact in Charles's private history, that it was celebrated with great magnificence in the interval between the sentence and the execution of the Earl of Strafford.

and Princesse of Orange: w^{ch} you are effectually to represent vnto them by all the arguments and reasons you can frame, and of what dangerous consequence the contrary may be to their interests and restitution.

You shall likewise give unto our Sister and Nephew, a true and particular knowledge of the state of the Treatyes betweene us and the States Ambassadors (as our principall Secretary shall informe you) as well of that of the Marriage, as of y^e Confederation, in the latter of which, we are resolved (as aforesaid) to take a special care of their interests.

You are to acquaint them, that although the two Treatyes are not come as yett to a conclusion, neuertielesse hauing been pressed by the Prince of Orange, that his son might passe into England before his going to the Field, Wee haue so farre giuen our assent thereunto as that wee haue left it to him, to doe therein as he shall thinke fitt.

You are to impart these our Instructions vnto Sr William Boswell our Resident, and to take his aduise in all things that may concerne our seruice, and you are wth him to addresse your selfe in our name to the Prince & Princesse of Orange, & to passe like offices wth them for the endeauouring & setling of a good understanding betweene our deare Sister, our Nephew, and them, according as wee soe earnestly desire, and their interest requires: Giuen under our Signe-manuall att our Court at Whitehall y^e 23th of Febru: 1640.

(Signed)

H. VANE.

Indorsed,

“ His Maties Instructions to Mr. Browne, going into Holland 1641.”

Instructions for our trusty and welbeloued RICHARD BROWNE,* Esq. one of the Clerkes of our Privy Councell, and our Agent wth our good brother the most Christian King: (in 1641.)

CHARLES R.

Wee hauing occasion to imploy our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousin the Earle of Leycester† our extraordinary Ambassadr^r with our good brother the French King, in the gouernment^t of our Realme of Ireland, as our Lieutenant generall there, and to that end being now to recall him from his employment in France: Wee haue that confidence of your fidelity, and abilities, and particularly of your experience in those parts, that wee haue thought fitt to make choice of you for to be our Agent there, and that you may the better acquitt your selfe in that charge, you shalbe provided wth the Instructions following:

First vpon your arriuall in that kingdome, you shall adresse yo^rselfe vnto our said Ambassadr^r extraordinary for to be by him presented vnto that King, to whom you shall deliuer yo^r Pres of Credence, and impart your charge:

And when you shalbe thus admitted to his presence, you shall in due, and the best manner, lett him know the great affection wee beare to his person, and the good aduancement and prosperity of him and his affaires, and how much wee doe desire, according to the antient friendship and strait obligations betweene us, to maintaine all good intelligence and correspondence. To w^{ch} end, that there may be nothing wanting on our part, We haue now, vpon the

* Afterwards Sir Richard, father in law of John Evelyn, Esq.

† Robert Sidney, nephew of the gallant Sir Philip.

comming away of our Ambassad^r, sent you to reside there : And soe you are accordingly to make this your principall aime, as it is indeed the proper charge of all Amb^{rs}, Legats, and Agents, to nourrishe and maintayne a good correspondence betwixt the two Crownes.

And therefore you are to informe yo^rselfe of all former Treatyes, and more especially of the last and most freshe in practice, betwene these Crownes, being the rule by w^{ch} the proceedings of the subjects of both sides are to be regulated.

And that you may better know wherein Wee, or our subjects, are any wayes concerned in those parts, whether in suites, processes, or otherwayes, you are to take all fitting and necessary informations from our said Ambassad^r, and what businesses shalbe left in agitation by him for o^re service, you are in our name to continue the prosecution thereof, and to giue account of yo^r proceedings therein.

Another part of your charge is, that you watch carefully ouer the motions of that State where you are, what treaties, alliances, assistances, or ennemityes shalbe moued wth other States openly, or vnder-hand, wherein our affaires may be any wayes concerned; and for yo^r better light and information herein, you are to keepe intelligence wth our Ambassad^{rs} and Agents wth other Princes, and States, to whom wee will giue orders to correspond wth you.

And as there shall further occasion arise for you to negotiate in, for our service, you shall receiue directions, either immediately from our selues, or from our principall Secretaries in our name, w^{ch} you are to obserue & follow, as if it came vnder our owne hand, and from time to time to aduertise them (or vs as the importance of the occasion may require) of all yo^re proceedings, and what soeuer else may come to yo^re knowledge, w^{ch} may be usefull and neces-

sary for the good of our affaires:—Whitehall the 23th of July 1641.

H. VANE.

“ Instructions for Mr. Browne.”
July 23, 1641.

CHARLES R.

Nostre feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de Nostre Chambre Privée, Secretaire en Nostre Conseil Privée, et Nostre Resident en France, salut. Comme ainsi soit que ceux contre qui Nous avons a faire presentem^t touchant le reste des derniers Dotaulx* de Nostre tres chere Epouse la Reyne, se veulent servir contre Nous de certains pretendus Ordres donnez l'un au mois d'Octobre 1633, par feu Nostre Grand Thresorier: † l'autre par Nous du 20^{me} Juin 1639 a Barwick. Nous vous declarons & tous aultres qu'il appartiendra, que Nous desavouons celuy pretendu du dit N're Grand Thresorier, com'e estant donné hors son pouvoir, et contre le bien de Nos affaires et interests, & contre Nostre intention. Et pour celuy donné au dict Barwick, Nous le revoquons absolument, com'e ayant esté tiré de Nous par surprise & du tout contre Nre intention & le bien de Nos affaires. Ce que vous declarez et notifierez quand ainsi vous adviserez éstre affaire.

* This resumption with respect to the Queen's dowry was evidently to facilitate the supplies from the Continent; since at this precise period her Majesty transmitted to the King a considerable sum of money raised upon the pawned jewels of the Crown. She went to Holland on the 23d of February preceding.

† Richard Weston, Earl of Portland.

Et pour ce faire, ces Nos Lettres vous seront Garrant et Authorité suffisante. Donn e sous Nostre signet le dixneufiesme jour de Juillet a N^{re} Cour a Beuerley, 1642, l'an XIIX^{me} de N^{re} Regne.

A N^{re} feal et bien am e Richard Browne, Gentilhom^e de N^{re} Chambre Priv e, Sec^{re} en N^{re} Conseil d'Estat & Priv e, et N^{re} Residt en France. 1642.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well beloued Wee greet you well. Whereas one Walter Strickland * hath bin very lately sent in y^e name of both Houses of Parliam^t heere with credentials to tr ate with o^{re} Allyes the States G^rall of the Vnited Netherlands, as pretended, for the publick good, though without any concurrence or knowledge of Us, which We must interprett the highest act of affront & disobedience w^{ch} hath bin committed against o^r Royall person & dignity; And this example leading us to a beleefe of what Wee haue bin told, but were not apt to creditt whilest there was any shew of reverence of o^r knowne Regalities yet remaining, that Augier, † or some other person, is by the said Houses sent with their usurped comission into France; Wee haue thought fitt hereby to authorise & com'and you

* This Strickland was afterwards a member of Parliament, and one of those who had been strenuous in the affair of the "Self-denying Ordinance;" yet he is expressly stated by Walker, in the "History of Independency," to have been in the receipt of large sums from the public purse.

† Augier had formerly been in his Majesty's confidence in the diplomatic negociations on the Continent with regard to the Elector Palatine.

to use y^{re} best and utmost meanes as well privatly as publickly & in Our Name to hinder & oppose any audience, countenance, or treaty in any kind to be afforded the said Augier or other whatsoever craving the same of o^{re} Brother the French King, the Princes of the Blood, or any of the Protestant Party, o^{re} Friends & Allyes, without Warrant under owre owne hand. And if, notwithstanding, Augier or any other shall prevaile, That you then in Ore Name solemnly protest there against the highest violacon of their Allyance & Friendship with Vs, against w^{ch} Wee shall seeke such reparacon as by God's assistance Wee shall be enabled. For all w^{ch} as these o^{re} Letters shalbe y^{re} sufficient Warrant & Protecon, So we shall expect hereof yo^r faithfull & bounden discharge as occasion therefore shalbe offred vnto you. Giuen at o^{re} Court at Nottingham the 12th day of Septemb^r in the Eighteenth yeare of o^{re} Reigne 1642.

“ To our trusty & welbeloved Richard Browne, Esq.
Our Residt with o^r Brother the French King.”

Indorsed,

“ From his Maty 20th day of Sept^r 1642.”*

CHARLES R.

Trusty & welbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee beleeve that before this Letter the Capucins† of Somerset house,

* This letter was written a month after the King had hoisted his standard at Nottingham.

† This evidently refers to the complaints, so long existing, against the Queen's Ecclesiastical establishment. So powerful was the popular feeling against Popery, that the King was forced to proceed much further than his own intentions would

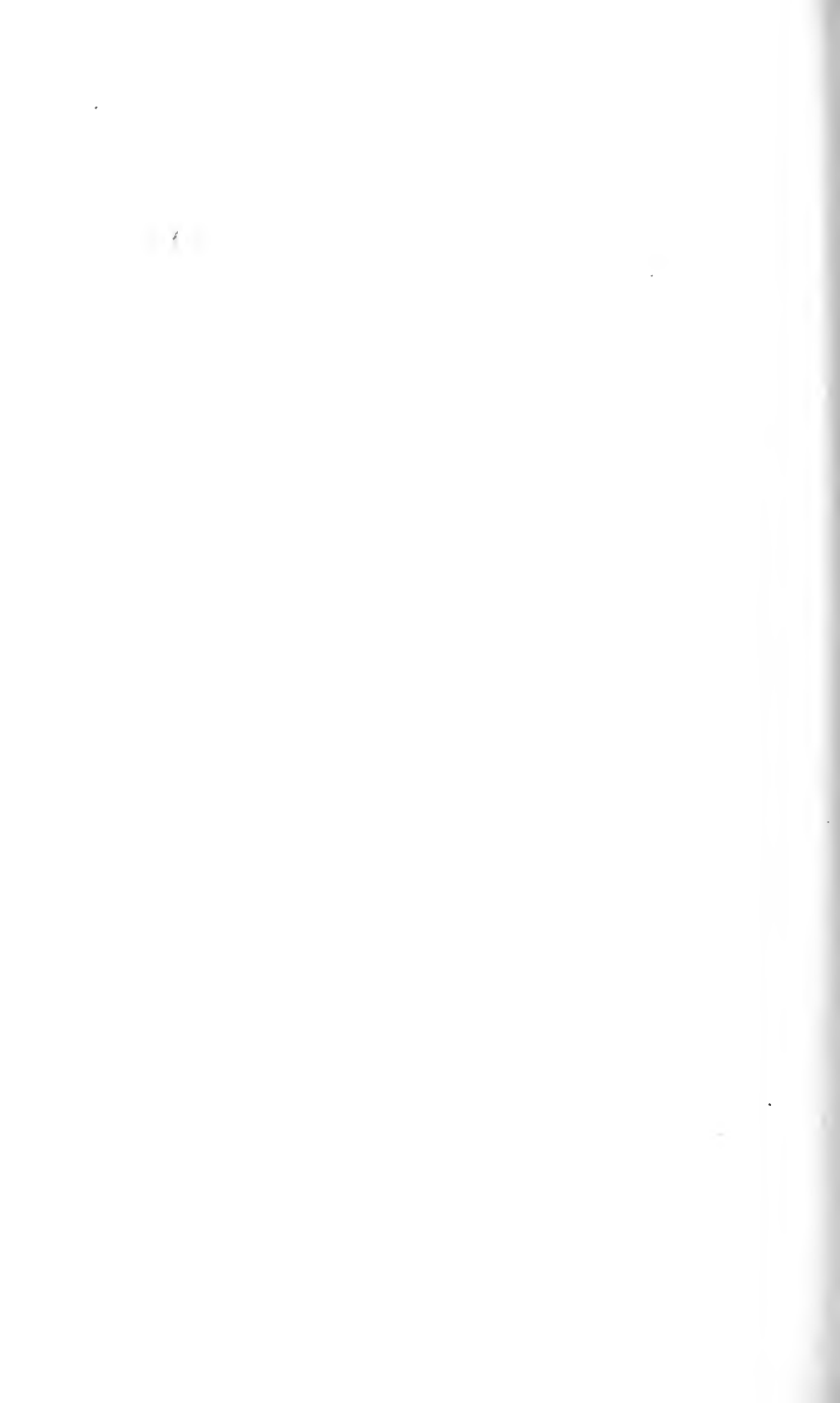
or some from them, wilbe arrived at Paris & haue represented there how disgracefully they were lately entreated at London. Wee are exceedingly displeas'd that soe high an affront hath been put upon the Treaty between Vs & the French King Our Brother, & upon Our owne Authority. But forasmuch as this barbarous Act is the child of that monstrous Rebellion w^{ch} goes big with confusion & destruccion to our Person & Posterity as well as our Laws & Rights. Wee wilbe cleere of any imputacon thereof, disavowing the same, the authors, actors & abettors thereof, as Wee doe disavow & detest all their traytrous machinacions against Vs & the Peace of Our Kingdoms, leauing them obnoxious to the iust indignacon & revenge w^{ch} God shall inflict upon them in his due time. And to this effect Wee will & command you in Our Name to make yore addresse to Our said deare Brother the French King for his satisfacon & the discharge of Our conscience & affeccion to Him in this regard. And soe Wee bid you farewell. Giuen at Our Court at Oxford the 5th day of Aprill in the Nineteenth yeare of Oure Reigne.

1643.

“ To our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne,
our Resident with our deere Brother the French King.”

From his Matie 5th April, 1643.

have led him; for he not only offered, in a message to the Parliament, to require by proclamation that all statutes concerning Popish recusants should be put in execution, but that the seven condemned Popish priests should be banished, and all Romish priests to depart the Kingdom in twenty days. Burton's Civil Wars.



PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE,

AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,

AND

SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I.

AND THE USURPATION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE connection which Lord Clarendon had with the events and politics of the period to which this Work refers, is too well known to require more, in this place, than a short introductory sketch illustrative of the subjects noticed in the various letters. The first two of these are written from Jersey, whither Sir Edward Hyde had accompanied the Prince of Wales; having indeed been of his Council when he was at Pendennis Castle, which he evacuated in 1645. Jersey was at that time under the government of Lord Jermyn; and Sir George Carteret was his deputy. When the Prince went to Paris to join his mother, Sir Edward remained behind; his reasons for which are fully recorded by himself in his Life. At Jersey he staid two years; and during the same period Sir Edward Nicholas was at Caen in Normandy, afterwards in Holland, where he had the King's leave to reside, on his being forced to fly from England.* Lord Digby also, to whom frequent reference is made, had been in Ireland, when Charles fled to Jersey: but joined him soon after with two frigates, and two hundred soldiers; at which time he strenuously urged the departure of the Prince for his father's Irish dominions. The Prince having afterwards proceeded

* Vide Lord Clarendon's State Papers, vol. II. p. 286.

to Holland, Sir Edward Hyde joined him there in 1648,* and, soon after the murder of the Royal Martyr, was sent Ambassador into Spain, from which country he rejoined the young King in France, and was appointed resident at Antwerp, where he remained during Charles's unsuccessful attempt in Scotland; but was ordered to Paris on his master's arrival there after the escape from the battle of Worcester.

These events fill up the hiatus between 1646 and 1652, the date of the *third* letter; and it only remains to explain some particulars of the affairs alluded to in many subsequent parts of the Correspondence, with respect to the Royal fleet.

When Charles I. perished on the scaffold, a portion of the Navy revolted from the Parliament, and sailed to Holland in aid of the Royal Cause. These ships were soon put under the command of Prince Rupert, and were employed by him in a predatory warfare against the Commonwealth, besides making several attempts on the Eastern coast of England in aid of the small Royal party still existing there; after which they proceeded to the Irish coast, where they took some valuable prizes. The Parliament sent Blake after them; but in 1649, Rupert, having forced his way through Blake's fleet, continued to capture English ships, apparently on his own account, and indeed without either asking for, or receiving, any orders from his Majesty. He then proceeded for Portugal, but was forced off by Blake, so that he was obliged to fly for the Mediterranean, where he commenced aggressions on the Spaniards, and

* A very interesting account of his adventures upon that occasion may be found in Clarendon's Life, page 105.

was repaired and refitted at Toulon, from whence he found it necessary to retire, sailing, in 1650, for the West Indies.

At this period Scilly and Jersey sent out swarms of privateers; but those islands being captured by the Parliamentary forces, the freebooters were obliged to bring their prizes into the ports of Brittany; and, in return for the sanction of Royal Commissions, were called upon to pay certain droits into the King's Exchequer—a circumstance to which many of the following Letters refer.

In 1652, Rupert arrived at Nantes from the West Indies, after suffering heavy losses from storms; so that, in fact, he only brought back one man of war, and three or four other vessels, being the sole remains of twenty-five ships of force of which his squadron originally consisted: and these he was compelled to sell to pay his seamen, under circumstances which will be found illustrated in the ensuing Notes.

It may be proper here to bring to the Reader's recollection that the King staid at Paris until 1654, when he proceeded through Flanders to Spa; thence to Aix La Chapelle, and, finally, to Cologne, as noticed in the preceding series. In 1657 he was at Bruges, where he appointed Sir Edward Hyde to be Lord Chancellor of England.

CLARENDON LETTERS.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.*

Sr,

That you receaved not an answer to your very kinde letter of the 4 of June, by some of the Princes trayne, you must impute to that agony of minde, which was necessary to oppresse me, at the partinge fro' so pretious a iewell, and with so many good frends; I hope I shall be agayne restored to them, howeuer that all happinesse will crowne ther counsell; whilst I with some very good frends of yours pray for them, in this poore islande; you will very much refresh vs with your correspondence, that wee may vnderstande the hopes, and progresse of that prosperity wee pray for. I doe not in the least degree apprehend a possi-

* From the general purport of this letter, it is evident that Sir Edward Hyde was by no means pleased with the Prince's journey from Jersey to Paris. His reasons for this are pretty fully detailed in his "Life," and also in the second volume of State Papers, p. 276. The justice of the political opinions here expressed was fully verified by the succeeding events.

See also p. 239, 2d vol. State Papers, for the King's reasons respecting the Prince's visit to the Court of France; and p. 307, for further observations on the "Scots and Independents."

bility of a peace betweene the Scotts & the Independ'ts, but feare more the manner of the warr, least in opposicon to the nacon all the English turne Independ'ts; which sure may be præuented: I believe the crisis is at hande: I wish you all happinesse, beinge,

Sr,

Your very affectionate Servt,

Jarsy, this 12 of July 1646.

EDW. HYDE.

I beseech you remember my seruice to Mr. Nicolls,* and desyre him, if Coll. Murray† should not be at Courte, that he keepe my letter to him, in his handes, till he see him; and that he deliuer it to none else. Your favour (Sr) for this to Sr H. Mackeworth.‡

Sir Ric. Browne.

* Who this Mr. Nicolls was, does not appear; for though Sir Edward Nicholas's name is sometimes spelled so in these letters, yet being then knighted he would have been called Mr. Secretary, as Sir Edward Herbert is often called "Mr. Attorney."

† Colonel Charles Murray, a companion of the Prince from Jersey to Paris. There is a humorous letter from him in Clarendon's State Papers, vol. II. p. 255, describing the arrival of his Royal Highness in the French capital, and subsequently at Fontainbleau.

‡ The first Baronet of that name, of Normanton, in Rutlandshire; and brother to the "brave and honest" Sir Francis, who distinguished himself in the Civil War, as Major General to the Marquis of Newcastle, and afterwards served in the Low Countries, during Charles's exile.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I have this day receaved yours of the 18. of August * [qr. July], and by your leaue continue the giuinge you this trouble; by this tyme I hope his Highnesse hath had so good a recepcon at ffountainebleau,† that hath made some amends for the former wante of ceremony: Methinkes the imaginacons that it is possible for the Kinge to submitt to those vyle proposicons,‡ is the next treason to the makinge them, ther beinge in them no seedes left, out of which Monarchy may agayne possibly springe: and therefore I longe to heare how our brethren of Scotland comporte themselves upon his refusall, which yet I doe not exspecte will be positive, but such a one as they at London will vote to be a refusall: I beseech you let me heare, how your intelligence from London diposes the Catholiques ther, I suppose that party cleaues to the Independ'ts, and I am sure had hearetofore fayre promises from them; and can have no hope from the Presbitery. I feare the ill successe

* This apparent anticipation of date, when compared with that of this letter, may have arisen from Sir Richard using the Gregorian style, from Paris, whilst Sir Edward preserved the old style, in conformity with English custom.

† The letter, spoken of in the preceding postscript, for Colonel Murray, appears to have been written on the subject of the Prince's reception at the French Court; for in the second volume of Clarendon's State Papers, p. 254, there is an epistle from the Colonel, describing the distinguished reception which the Prince met with on his arrival at Fontainebleau.

‡ The propositions here alluded to are noticed in the preceding portion of this work.

of the ffrench in Italy and fflanders,* will giue them an excuse for those faylings to his Highnesse, which they meant to committ in the most prosperous condicon: and if this indispoticon in the Pr. of Condé be in earnest, they may haue ther excuses multiplyed.† If my brother Aylesbury‡ be come to you, I pray let him receaue this inclosed letter, otherwise keepe it for him. My service to Mr. Nicolls,§ to whome I sent a packet by Dr. Jonson, which I hope came safe to him; My LL^{ds} heare, and our very good Go-uernour,|| are your seruants, as I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate, humble serut,

EDW: HYDE.

Jarsy this 14. of Aug. 1646.

Sr Ric. Browne.

* During the war with Spain, in the minority of Louis XIII.; but these events were not of sufficient importance to require specific illustration.

† The Prince of Condé was then at the head of the party in opposition to the politics of Mazarine. He was sometimes a courtier, sometimes a politician, and sometimes a rebel in arms.

‡ Son of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart. and brother of Sir Edward's second wife, who finally became heiress to her father and brother.

§ See note to preceding letter.

|| Lord Jermyn.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.*

(Signed by Edward Hyde himself.)

Sr,

Yours of ye 24. of Jan: from yourselfe and Sr G. Cartrett came [not] to my hands till ye post was gone, and I am now in soe great torment wth ye gowte, that I am not able to keepe off my bed, and soe must use another hand, wch I hope you will pardon. The Duke of Yorke† is now here, and conceiues all obstruccions are now remoued, wch troubled you at Brest, the Marquis of Castelnœ‡ hauing

* This letter relates to the difficulties respecting the reception and sale of prizes. Of the persons referred to, Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was then Secretary to the Duke; Berkeley had been his Governor: Castelnau was Governor of Brest; Holder was agent for the captors; and Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey, was then, or soon after, a Rear Admiral in the French service, though still attached to the Royal cause. Sir Richard Browne, the King's resident at Paris, had been dispatched to arrange affairs at Brest.

† The Duke of York had much personal interest at this crisis at the French Court; for he had very recently distinguished himself in the French King's service, under the command of General Count Harcourt, and against the Prince de Condé's forces, especially on the preceding Christmas day, when, though Condé was finally victorious, the Duke charged against him in person, and commanded the forlorn hope, consisting of the English cavalry. In this rencontre the Duke's horse was shot under him; but he himself received little hurt. Vide a printed pamphlet in the British Museum, "A bloody fight in France, Lond. 1651-2."

‡ The hopes of Lord Clarendon from the promises of Castelnau were but indifferently founded; for the pamphlet quoted

made large promises to his Highnes: I would aduice you hereafter (though you may giue me an account apart) to send a very particular state of all the buisnesse and mis-carriages there, to the D. of Yorke himselfe, Sir John Berkeley, or Mr. Bennett; since all redresse must be obteyned by y^e sole mediacon of his R. Highnes, and you shall doe very well to expresse at large the misdemean^{rs} and cheates of y^r Captaines,* whom upon all occasions Mr. Holder hath wonderfully magnified. You must take speiall care for y^e safe and speedy conueyance of this inclosed from the King to the Gouvern^r of Innisbofine,† and I pray

in the preceding note expressly states that at this period the return of the Cardinal Mazarin into France with a force of 7000 men had produced great jealousies at that Court, and that Castelnau and Villeroy having forwarded his return, on purpose to undo him, were suspected by him, and had therefore forsaken the Court. Castelnau's deputy had pretended an order from his Court to detain the prizes, in hopes of being bribed by the captors.

* This little squadron had been recently very active, particularly in the chops of the Channel; but the republican newspapers of that day affected to treat them with great contempt. In one of those, of the 8th of the preceding month, preserved in the British Museum, it was roundly stated that Capt. Chapman, in the Recovery, convoying a small vessel for Ireland, had met with the Francis, the Patrick, and the Hunter, and maintained a gallant fight from eleven at noon till night parted them. Prince Rupert is also stated to be at this period at sea, "with six or seven lusty ships," and to have taken several Spanish vessels.

† It was reported in the London papers that the King intended to set out for Rome, professing openly to own the Catholic religion, on which terms it was promised to him that

send the other to Sir George Carterett, if he be gone, and excuse this shortnesse, w^{ch} my extreame payne produces. I am,

Sr,

your very affeconat humble serut,

Paris, 8 ffeb: 1652.

EDW. HYDE.

Sir Rich. Browne.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

Within 2. howers after my last to you of the 17. were sent away, I receaued both yours of the 5 and 9. of this moneth. I am entirely vnacquainted with the person or the purposes of your Capt: Anthonie,* nor do I heare that he is in these partes. I should imagyne, that whateuer else he does, he will neuer putt himselfe in the power of the Hollander, whome he hath sufficiently prouokcd and damnified.† I cannot giue you any good accounte of the transactions betweene this Crowne and the English Rebels, only that ther is nothings like that order, of which you say

the Duke of Lorraine should make a diversion in his favour in Ireland, by the relief of Galway, and by a general interference in affairs in that quarter.

* Commander of one of the privateers attached to the Royal cause.

† The Royal fleet and the privateers were, at this period, in a great distress for a port to shelter them, in consequence of the Parliament having captured the Scilly Islands, which had for some time been their principal harbour; Jersey also having fallen.

you are aduertised from Rowen, that Pr: Ruperte* is requyred to go away with his shippes and pryyses, his Highnesse hauinge all the respecte heare, and I thinke, security, he can desyre: and I heare they do not now bragg so much as they haue done, of ther treaty in Englande, and are not without some apprehension, that the Rebells of Westm. may fauour ther fellow rebells of Burdeaux: † or letters fro' London importe no new notable effecte of ther alteracon; ther Councell of the Army still sittinge at Whitehall to forme ther new modell of gouernment. I know not what to say to the complainte of your seru^t, because you will not giue me leaue to take notice of it to the partyes who are most concerned, but I believe ther may be some errour or malice in the reporte, ‡ because I am told by a very true frende of yours, that it is the maydes owne fault that shee hath not her dyett ther, and that because shee might not be trusted with the gouern^t of the kitchen and the buyinge the meate (in which shee was thought to lauish) shee abso-

* Though the fleet under Prince Rupert was, strictly speaking, an English one, yet it appears that in a recent attack upon the Spaniards he was avenging a private cause; for when, in the Spring of 1652, he sailed from Toulon with four men-of-war and two fire-ships, and instantly commenced hostilities against the Spaniards, taking, as his first prize, a ship worth 100,000 crowns, he put forth a declaration, in which he stated one of his reasons for this aggression to be in revenge for the injuries committed by the Spaniards against the Palatinate.—Vide Life of Prince Rupert 1683.

† Alluding to the Condé Party, then active in the south of France.

‡ Nothing can more whimsically mark the great change of circumstances of the English courtiers, than this rapid transition from national politics to kitchen gossip.

lutely with greate indignation refuses to take her dyett, with which they say the lady is much troubled : but I tell you agayne, I haue this only from a frende, and not any of the house. I doubte your mayde is apt to be angry, and when shee is, shee may be as vnreasonable, as such angry people vse to be. Upon my conscience you haue not the least reason to suspecte Geo. Carterett's* frendshipp or kindnesse to you, but you must not make his frequent writinge the measure of it, and it is very possible (for he hath bene out of all roades) he may haue written, and his letters miscarry, as yours may haue done to him.

I am very hartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate humble servt,

EDW: HYDE.

Paris this 20th of May, 1652.

Sir Ric: Browne.

* Sir George Carteret, before this period, had been Governor of Elizabeth Castle, in Jersey, as Deputy to Lord Jermyn, besieged by the Parliamentary forces in 1651. His conduct was so loyal as to merit the praise even of his enemies, one of whom said in a letter, preserved in the British Museum, "I hear he hath sent to the Scots King, to acquaint him with the state of affairs, as touching our approach, and condition of the Castle, from whom he expects a letter ; and if he with it signs a warrant for delivering up the Castle, I believe the Governor (to make his own conditions the better) will soon yield it up ; yet, without it, his devout allegiance is such, that he will do nothing."

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I giue you hearty thanks for yours of the 17. which came safe, and I distributed the inclosed accordinge to ther directions; and the Kinge is resolued to obserue this order, of sendinge twice a weeke to Paris, wherby all our correspondencies will I hope be præserued: I send you a pistole inclosed that you may keepe an euen reckoninge with your man for the portage of my letters,* which will quickly spende such a summ, so that I conclude your owne charge in this seruice is no easy burthen; for what will concerne me, I will be carefull to supply, as this wastes. Wee haue yett taken no further resolucon, then to sitt still some tyme heare, both to decerne what conclusion your distempers will produce,† and what our friends of Hollande will do: you will be careful to receaue all information and aduice from the Dutch Ambassadour ‡ how affayres goe ther, and

* However trifling this caution appears about a sum so insignificant, yet it will be found, in a subsequent note, that the postage of letters was a most important article of expenditure to the exiled Royalists.

† The distempers here alluded to were the disputes, and consequent civil war, between the Condé and Mazarine partizans.

‡ Mynheer Borell. One of the Journals of that day ("Perfect Passages," 23 July, 1652,) says, "Charles Stuart, being gone from the Louvre, continues yet at St. German's, where he hath been saluted by a messenger from the Marquis of Brandenburg, inviting him into Germany. His creature Brown, and the Dutch Ambassadour Borel, are often together."

Borel had been Pensioner of Amsterdam, and was very much devoted to the Royal cause, having formerly been Ambassador at the English Court. He was also of the Orange party, and anxious for a war with the Commonwealth.

transmitt it hither : if our letters fro' the Hague be true, they looke more kindly towards us fro' that climate, then they haue done, and the Ambassadour hath receaued some derection to communicate with his Ma^{ty}; but I know he is so iust and kinde, that he will gladly imbrace the orders, and therefore I doubte our information may not be true. The wayes I hope will be so secure shortly betweene us and you, that wee may euen visit each other.* God preserue you, and me as I am with my whole hearte,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

ffriday night this 19. of July, 1652.

Euery body sends ther letters to me, & I cannot refuse to transmitt them: you will lett your man dispose them to the seuerall posts. If the Spanish Ordinary be not speedily exspected, I pray putt this under youre cover to Bryon.†

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

Yours of the 20. came safe to me, and so the inclosed were disposed accordingly : I am sorry ther should be any hazard of hauinge our letters intercepted,‡ which I thought

* The road between St. Germain's and Paris was at that period totally unsafe, on account of the military marauders of both armies.

† Count de Brienne, first Secretary of State to the French King.

‡ The disturbances at Paris and its vicinity were at this period of such a nature as to justify the apprehensions here

by the remooue of the Armyes would haue been now without any doubt, especially since the Carry-all of this place trauelles dayly & securely to Paris: howeuer I will obserue your advice, and write any thinge of importance in

you are in the King's name to
cypher: 731 . 405 . 532 . 668 . 220 . 13 . 596 . 667 .
returne his Maties very to the
333 . 502 . 239 . 13 . 699 . hearty thanks 667 . 668 .
Dutch Ambas^r his Ma^{ty} is
142 . 95 . and indeede 502 . 239 . 529 . exceedingly
of his kind n e s s e and
sensible 598 . 502 . 544 . 30 . 7 . 13 . 62 . 23 . 407 .
freind shipp
488 . 651 . and if God blesses him, will make it appeare
that he is so. his Ma^{ty} d e s i r e
502 . 239 . 15 . 23 . 13 . 27 . 36 . 56 .
s the Ambas^r to lett him know
62 . 668 . 95 . 667 . 551 . 505 . 546 . as soone as he
the warre is d e c l a
is assured that 668 . 723 . 529 . 25 . 23 . 15 . 28 . 21 .
r e d that hee will his
36 . 7 . 26 . and then 673 . 501 . 710 . aduice 502 .
Ma^{ty} what he is to do
239 . 717 . 501 . 529 . 667 . 439 . both with reference
the U n i t e d P r
to 668 . 43 . 30 . 27 . 12 . 23 . 25 . 41 . 34 . 36 .
o v i n c e s and to this
22 . 43 . 27 . 30 . 15 . 56 . 13 . 407 . 667 . 671 .

expressed. The scandal of the day asserted also that Charles was by no means a favourite with many of the highest rank in France; and it is recorded in a Gazette, or Mercurius Politicus of the 1st July, 1652, in the British Museum, that "Charles Stuart hath secured himself by shewing them a pair of heels," (just after the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé close to Paris,) "and retreating from the Louvre to Court, where the King harbours him, being highly distasted by the Duke of Orleans, Mademoiselle, the Princes, and all the people, so that they have made several books and songs of him."

Crowne with which his Ma'y will in
 437 . 713 . 722 . 502 . 239 . 710 . interpose 532 .
 that manner as the Ambas^r
 673 . 573 . 30 . 23 . 36 . 401 . 668 . 95 . shall thinke
 best
 416 . 13 . 12. I shall not neede to bespeake your dili-

gence in calling often ^{him} 600 . ^{for} 505 . 469 . 86.—You will
 do me the fauour to send this inclosed to Sr Jo. Mennes,*
 who I suppose is still at Calice. I pray do me the fauour
 to desyre Monsieur Paule to giue you the title of the Duke
 of Bauaria, and to informe you how longe he hath bene
 Duke:—You will exspecte no newes from this place wher
 wee haue little to doe, but to study & take the ayre, and
 to longe for good newes of peace in this kingdome. If the
 messengers dispatched from hence doe not attende you at
 those howres they should, it is not for want of deration
 heare. I haue a serious quarrell with you for somewhat
 Dr Earles† hath lately aduerticed me of, which in good

* Sir John Mennes was Rear-admiral of the Fleet in the
 reign of Charles the First; and was one of the most distin-
 guished loyal officers, when the Parliament took those extraor-
 dinary steps which led to the defection of the greatest part of
 the naval force. He was removed from his station by the Earl
 of Warwick, in 1642, after the unsuccessful attempt of his
 Majesty to regain the fleet in the Humber, which failed through
 some mismanagement on the part of Sir John Pennington.

† Dr. Earle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, author of the
 "Microcosmography," was one of the Loyalists attached to
 the exiled Court, and Chaplain to the King. He was in strict
 habits of friendly intimacy with Hyde, two of whose letters to
 him may be found in vol. II. of the State Papers, pp. 322, 329.
 In the latter, Sir Edward facetiously arranges the Doctor's lei-
 sure time, allowing him two hours to eat his dinner, and "two
 hours in the projecting where to get one."

earnest I take unkindly, and doubt you haue not so good an opinion of my friendship as I wish you should, and for which I must chyd you heartily when wee meeete.

Let me know particularly what you receave from Englande, and lett your man enqyre for letters derected as Edgman* aduiced you. I am,

Sr,

Your most affectionate faythfull Serut,

EDW. HYDE.

St Germaines. Tuesday morninge 23. of July 1652.

Sir Rich: Browne at Paris.

SIR EDWARD HYDE to SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue not had an opportunity till now to acknowledge the receipte of yours of the 24. which came safe to me, and the contents therof were immediately by me imparted to his Matie, who had not before heard of many of the particulars, nor do wee yett heare from the Court of any such message† sent from the Duke of Orleans, which it seemes they thinke fitt to conceale, when they do not intende to satisfy.

* Edgman was Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde, who, once vindicating him from a charge of having violated a seal, declared he knew him to be so honest, that before he would be guilty of such a villainy he would starve!

† Comparing this letter with another of the same date to Sir Edward Nicholas, in State Papers, vol. III. p. 85, it appears that the whole of the news, here alluded to, related to the negociations carrying on between the Court and the Condéans.

I am very sorry for the good Deanes * indisposicon, though I am gladd it is nothings but a fitt of the stone, which I am very farr from vnderualewinge, yett it seemes lesse daungerous then a vyolent ffeauour with which wee heard he labored: I pray remember my seruice very heartily to him, and send me worde quickly of his perfecte recouery.

The wante of the title of the Duke of Bauaria keepes us from making a congratulatory dispatch to him, which is requisite in seuerall respectes, therefore I pray hasten it as soone as you may: let me heare any particulars you receaue from Englande, especially how our frends at Detforde doe.† If it would be any comforte to you to haue compaynons in misery, you will heare shortly that wee are in greate distresses,‡ for I cannot imagyne which way the

* This was Dr. Stewart, Dean of the Chapel Royal, whom Clarendon, in another place, calls "a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in the learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church." He had been long about Charles's person; for, as early as 1646, in a letter preserved in the State Papers, vol. II. page 253, and addressed to the Prince, the King calls him an honest trusty servant, and recommends him to his Royal Highness as Dean of his Chapel, telling him at the at the same time to take the Doctor's advice, "giving reverence to his opinion in all things concerning conscience and church affairs."

† This inquiry refers to the Evelyn family at Says Court.

‡ The periodical prints of that day thus account for the King not wishing to remain at Paris. "The Scots King is still in Paris, but now upon his remove. What shall he do then? Trayl a pike under the young Lady of Orleans:" (this lady had recently raised a regiment for the French King's service against the Confederate Lords:) "an honour too large for the

Kinge will be able to procure mony for his subsistance; nor indeed how the ffrench Courte will subsiste it selfe. Wee know nothinge heare of the Spanish army: what is become of it?

You will still commend the King to your neighbour: if the wayes were once open, I would make a iourney ouer to visitt you, and to be merry 3 or 4 howres: I am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Serut,

E. H.

St Germ: 26 July 1652 ffryday 9 at night.

I pray send me the copy of a warrant for Barronett, for I am not sure that myne is not defectiue.

Sir Ric. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

The messenger who brought me yours of the 27. is so positive in the iustifyinge himselfe, that I cannot but desyre you to examine his allegations, which if not true, he shall be no more sent on his errande, at least not by me: he swears, he was on Saturday at your house, by 11 of the clocke, and you not being at home, he left the letters, both the Kings and myne with your mayde: this is so contrary

late Majesty of Scotland. His confidents have satt in Council, and it is allowed by his Mother, that during these tumults in France, it is neither honourable nor expedient for him to continue in Paris, the affections of the citizens for the most part being alienated from the King," &c.

to what you say, of his not appearing before 4 of the clocke, (which putts me in apprehension that our packetts went not by the last ordinary) that I haue a greate minde to know the certainty, and whether the fellow hath any excuse or not: I told the Kinge of the expedient you proposed, which he lyked well, only it was sayd by a stander by, that one footeman would not be alwayes willinge to make that iourny, and hauinge so little encouragement, it is no wonder, that euery man is willinge to saue his labour: I am of your opinion that the breach is already too wyde, betweene the two Commonwealths, to be easily closed agayne. I pray God wee may make good use of it, which will most depende upon your neighbours aduice and direction: I pray hasten the Duke of Bauaria's titles, &c. I wish I could tell you of a more plentifull condicon heare, because I am confident you would haue a share of it: upon my worde, the Kinge hath not yett receaued a penny of supply since his comminge hither: he hath hope of 300 pistoles, for which he gott an order at his beinge at Grubse, but payment is not yett made:* seriously I cannot be more troubled at any thinge, then at your distresses; which I had rather see relieued then my owne: I will not surpse you at Paris, and would be glad that the communication should be with more freedome, before I uenture thither.—I will by Saturday send you a letter for George Carterett,† from whome I wonder I heare not, but more,

* This delay is easily accounted for, by a reference to the preceding letter respecting the pecuniary difficulties of the French Court.

† Sir George Carteret, after having been forced to surrender Jersey, was very active as a sea officer in the King's service; and in the month of July, 1652, he is stated to have been on

that he forgetts his promise to you : I thought your agent ther had taken the duties in spite accordinge to former aduice. The defeate of Count Harcourte* I would haue bene gladd to haue receaued more particularly: wee hauinge heare heard nothings of it : and the Court needes none of these humilliations. God præserue you, and,

Sr,

Your very affectionate humble ser^{vt},

E. H.

St Germaines this 29. of July :
Munday 3 in the afternoone
1652.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I receaued yours of the 30. late the last night, and reade
euery worde of it this morninge to the Kinge. His Ma^{tie} 502 . 239 .
is very much troubled 673 . 668 . 95 . should receau
any præiudice for his friend s h i p p
469 . 502 . 488 . 13 . 17 . 27 . 34 . 35 .
to him 667 . 505 . nor can imagyne by what hande those offices

the coast of Flanders with 13 sail under the royal colours, making prize of English vessels. Soon after this he joined Van Tromp ; and subsequently served as Vice Admiral of the French fleet under the Duke of Vendosme.

* Harcourt was a gallant and loyal French officer ; but his laurels faded before the genius of the great Turenne.

are done.* The truth is, ther is so greate a licence of writinge vnder the nocon of gettinge intelligence, for which euery man thinkes himselfe qualified, that men care not what they write,† so they may prætende to know much, and I have seene some letters from Hollande, wherein it hath beene sayd, that ^{the} 668 . ^S 13 . ^t 12 . ^a 4 . ^t 12 . ^e 7 . ^s 62 . had ^{giuen} 506 . 493 . 30 . ^{Ambass^r} to order to ther 95 . 667 . communicate all affayres ^{with} 713 . ^{the} 668 . ^{Kinge} 220 . and so it seemes others who believed that true, may haue giuen notice of his resorte to the Louer, possibly without any ill purpose, and yett I will not absolue them from that nether : at least, folly and impertineny does the same mischieue that malice does: but the ^{King} 220 . would haue you assure ^{the Ambr} 668 . 95 . that he will be as carefull hereafter as he desyres, and for the two papers, ^{he} 501 . ^{will} 780 . examine his cabinet, wher he is sure they are, if he did not burne them, and deliuer them to me, and I will then send them to you by some sure messenger : ffor ^S 13 . ^t 12 . ^a 21 . ^r 36 . ^k 51 . ^y 10 . ^{and} 407 . 39 . ^{Taylor †} 21 . 10 .

* The De Wit party were at this period predominant in Holland, in opposition to the Orange Partizans, who were, of course friendly to the King.

† Sir Richard Browne himself had many enemies at this moment among the English Exiles ; some of whom, from a wish to dismiss him from the King's service, went so far as to insinuate at Court that, " his Majesty being present, he could have no Resident." This is alluded to in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholus, in the State Papers, III. 112.

‡ This Taylor, adverted to in former notes, was the King's

28 . 53. I am of your opinion for the first, that he is honest, but a foole: The other is more a foole, and I doubt not so honest, though yett I do not take him for a spy: nor can I imagyne it possible for them to make any sober vsefull proposicons ^{to the Ambass^r} 667 . 668 . 95. The King will follow the aduice, ^{and s i t t} 407 . 13 . 27 . 12 . 42 . still, till ^{the Ambass^r w i s h e s him to moue} 668 . 95 . 20 . 529 . 17 . 7 . 62 . 502 . 667 . 577.

The sendinge ^{Lord Willmott into Germany*} 394 . 532 . 667 . 186 . is not declared, ^{and if hee goe s} 497 . 531 . 501 . 491 . 13 . (which will not be yett) ^{hee goe by Holand, the King would} 501 . shall not 491 . 415 . 192 . 668 . 220 . 728 . ^{nott haue the Bishop to} 589 . 514 . 668 . 99 . propose any such thinge 667 . ^{the Ambass^r that you should lett} 668 . 95. Though he be willinge 673 . 731 . 666 . 551 . ^{the Ambass^r know hee can} 668 . 95 . 546 . that as low as his power is 501 . 429 .

agent with the Emperor of Germany and the Diet; as appears more particularly in a letter to him from Sir Edward Hyde (State Papers, Vol. III. p. 112), in reference to an approaching meeting of that body. But in the same volume, page 121, a very strong reason is given for Lord Wilmot's German Embassy, for Hyde says, "I am sure a wise man is wanting there; for Taylor is the most absolute fool I ever heard of."—Vide further, same volume, pp. 113, 116.

* How well the King's motions were watched by the Parliamentary spies, is evident from the fact that a journal of the 5th August 1652, states—"The late King of Scots is at St. German's, and expects daily to bee sent for by the Hollanders. The *Lord Wilmot is designed to go Ambassador from him into Germany.*"

putt such places in Irland and Scotland
 615 . 654 . 618 . 13 . 532 . 204 . 407 . 363 . into
 of Holand
 into the handes 598 . 192 . as would inable them to tor-
 ment their enimy^es :* Ther is no opinion of the good
 nature and gratitude of 308 . 452 . 598 . 103 . 707 .
 Pr. El. Pal.† The Earl of Br: was
 called 667 . 121 . as an old 121 . 599 his father :‡ and
 to counsell Counsell^r of
 it would haue bene greate pittie he should not : he is a good
 L^d Digby
 old man, and much my frende. 155 . intends his owne
 businesse and lookes not after what concernes us : I thinke
 I haue answered all yours : and I am able to add nothings
 of this place : god of heaven præsereue you, and me as I
 am heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate humble Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

St. Germaines, Wensday July

31. 8 at night. 1652.

Sir Ri. Browne.

* This is a most extraordinary fact, and perfectly in unison with another letter from Sir Edward to Secretary Nicholas, published in the State Papers, vol. III. p. 86. Fortunately for the King's credit, and the honour of the Nation, the idea was finally dropped by both parties.

† The Elector Palatine subsequently justified this opinion ; for, when the German Princes made up a sum of ten thousand pounds for Charles, the Elector, though under great obligations both to his father and grandfather, did not contribute a single stiver.—Vide Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 418.

‡ In tracing the conduct of the Earl of Bristol throughout these letters, the inquisitive reader will derive much amusement from Walpole's account of him as a Noble Author.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

Since I writt last to you (though it was but on ffryday night) I haue receaued 5 letters from you, two of the 2d, one of the 3. of the 4. and the 5. of this moneth, all which are now before me to be answered in order, after I have exceedingly thanked you for your diligent and very punctuall correspondence, which is so greate a virtue, that it is high iniustice not to rewarde and gratify it, which I hope will one day be done.

I have informed the Kinge of the Venetian Ambassadors complainte against Mr. Killigrew,* with which his Maty is very much troubled, and resolues upon his returne hither, to examyne his miscarriage, and to proceed therein in such a manner as shall be worthy of him, and as may manifest his respecte to that Commonwealth, with which the Crowne of Englande hath alwayes held a very stricte amity, and

* Sir Edward, in his Life, page 116, says, that the King was at first unwilling to send Killigrew to Venice; but afterwards was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in the capacity of Envoy "he might borrow money of English merchants for his owne subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master."

This letter adds some interesting historical detail upon a circumstance but slightly noticed in the page of history. Francois Erizzo was the Doge who acted thus cavalierly to the representative of an exiled Monarch. Perhaps one of the most prudent, yet most dignified, of the events of Charles's reign, is the affair here treated of; and the Venetian Senate, if they had any feeling for Royalty in eclipse, must have experienced a degree both of shame and sorrow for their hasty conduct!

his Matys Ministers haue in all places præserued a uery good correspondence with the Ministers of that State, and therefore his Maty is the more sensible of this misdemeanour of his Resident: However his Maty wishes that the Republic had proceeded accordinge to the vsuall custome, and first acquainted him with ther iust exception against his Minister, that therupon his Maty might haue testified his respecte to them by recallinge and punishinge him, and that they had not by a judgement of ther owne compelled him to retyre, which beinge so vnusuall a way, his Maty doubts will not be cleerely and generally understoode, but may be interpreted to the Kings disadvantage as a declininge in this tyme of tryall that auntient friendship with the Crowne of Englande, which his Maty is gladd to finde by the Ambassadour is not in truth the purpose or intention of that Commonwealth, and you are to thanke the Ambassadour in the Kings name for his particular affection to his Maty, which he desyres him to continue.—After I had shewed the Kinge your letter, he appointed me ^{to r e a d e it in councell} 667 . 36. 23. 4. 25. 7 . 530. 532. 121. and the resolucon was ther taken for the answer, so that the very wordes which I haue used upon this argument, were consider'd and perused by the Kinge.—I have bene very much troubled for poore Mr. Douglass's beinge sicke, and am much comforted with your good newes of his amendment: If ther had not bene 3 or 4 persons of quality heare very sicke, as my Lo: Wentworth,* Schomburgh, younge Mr. Jarmin,† who hath the small pox, and others, who

* Lord Wentworth, of whom some particulars may be found in a former note, was shortly after this sent as agent to Denmark, where he remained until the ensuing year.

† Son of Thomas, elder brother of Lord Jermyn. He suc-

would not indure the absence of ther physicon, Dr. ffrayser* had gone over to Paris to looke to him: I pray when you go next remember my seruice to him, and desyre him to be very carefull of himselfe that he fall not into relapse: I could willingly be of your minde for the certainty of one avowed messenger, but I finde it harde to lay the worke upon one man, which your passe must suppose; besydes the askinge such a warrant might possibly shutt the doore against all others, and that would not be well, for betweene the English and Dutch Letters, and the particular businesses from this place, ther is no day passes without a messenger to Paris, and an authority graunted to one might cause all the rest to be in more daunger; the conclusion is, that wee will every Wensday morninge, or Tuesday night, send an honest fellow to you, and agayne on Saturday morninge, and in those two only I will take

ceeded his uncle, after the restoration, in the Barony of Jermyn, but not in the Earldom of St. Alban's, and died without issue male.

* Fraser was a Scotchman, and mingled much in the religious politics of that country; he also had some political as well as medical influence at the exiled Court. Lord Clarendon, in State Papers, III. 119, says of him, "I am glad you have so good a correspondent as Dr. Frayser, who is grown (God knows why) an absolute stranger with me; he is great with Lord Gerard and Mr. Attorney, but he will speedily leave us and go for England, which truly I am sorry for, for the King's sake: for no doubt he is good at his business, otherwise the maddest fool alive."—He also speaks particularly well of him in the same volume, p. 45; yet Fraser took great offence against Sir Edward, on account of this trip to England, actually asserting that it was Hyde's wish to have him murdered when there, or that he might languish in prison until he should die of grief and hunger!

my selfe to be most concerned. I hope the Kinge of Spayne* is not deade, and then the arryvall of the ffleete will indeede prooue a cordiall. I haue the same reproaches fro' the Hague for not writinge things which I doe not know, and sometymes that are not.—You must explyne this; you say, I have not yet seene 95. both he and I haue bene to [too] busy. What do you meane by that, sure you haue not bene so, nor does any wise man thinke you can be soe: I haue ^{the} 668 . ^{two} 670 . 569 . 29 . 2 . ^{memorialls} 36 . 27 . 400 . 13 . ^{hee} 501 . sent to ^{the} 668 . ^{K.} 216 . ^{by} 415 . ^{his} 502 . ^{Sonn} 13 . 43 . 30 . 59 . ^{which} 722 . ^{you} 731 . requyred and the ^{K.} 220 . gaue ^{me} 569 . two dayes since: I will keepe them till you order me to dispose them. As I was much startled my selfe with yours of yesterday, which my Lady Harberte † sent me late in the night, concerning ^{that} 673 . ^{the} 668 . ^{K.} 220 . ^{had} 506 . ^{giuen} 493 . 30 some derections quite contrary to what I understoode to be his minde, so I gave my selfe the pleasure of perplexinge ^{his} 502 . ^{Ma'y} 239 . by readinge only the first parte of your letter: and when he was in trouble, and protested that he had neuer gaue any such order, I reade him that which was in cypher, with which he was wonderfully pleased, and exceedingly thanks ^{the} 668 . ^{Ambass^r} 95 . and referres the proceedinge ⁱⁿ 532 . ^{it} 530 . intirely ^{to} 667 . ^{his} 502 . ^{dis} 440 . ^c 15 . ^r 36 . ^e 23 . ^t 12 . ^{ion} 537 . and frendshipp, for as he hath

* Philip IV. He died not until 1665.

† Wife of Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney General, and, for a short time, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

hitherto accordinge to his aduice forborne in the least degree to stirr, or moue any thinge, for feare of doinge it vnseasonably, so he very well knowes, that such an ouerture as

this, timely made, ^{may} 571 . ^{giue} 493 . ^{his} 502 . ^{friends} 488 . ⁱⁿ 13 . 532 .

Holland ^{to} 192 . ^s opportunity 667 . ^a 13 . ^y 21 . 10 . somewhat on his behalfe,* which of themselues originally they could not

doe, and therefore ^{tha} 668 . ^{K.} 220 . ^{the} committs 668 . ^{con} 428 . ^d 25 .

^u 43 . ^c 15 . ^t 42 . ^e 23 . ^{of} 598 . ^t wholly to 12 . ^h 17 . ^e 23 . ^{Ambas.} 95 .

and will acknowledge alwayes ^{the} 668 . ^{good} 495 . ^e 7 . ^f 18 . ^f 24 .

^e 56 . ^t 12 . ^s 13 . ^{to} 667 . ^{him :} 505 . and ther is no doubt, if ther

were an opportunity ^{to} 667 . ^t 12 . ^r 36 . ^e 23 . ^a 21 . ^t 42 . ^e 23 .

^{on} 600 . ^{the} 668 . ^{Kings} 220 . ^{be} 13 . ^h 416 . ^a 17 . ^l 21 . ^f 28 . ^e 18 . 7 .

ther would be founde reall aduantages yett in his power

(as low as it is) ^{to} 667 . ^{giue} 493 . ^{with} 713 . ^{to} reference 667 . ^{Ireland} 204 .

and Scotland†

407 . 363 . and really I have reason to belieue that wee

* On consulting a letter of the 2d August to Secretary Nicholas, then residing in Holland, it is evident that this passage refers to the former proposals for the delivery of certain places, both in Scotland and Ireland, to the Dutch.

† The King's wishes at this period are recorded in one of the public journals, ("Several Proceedings," 28th October 1652,) in a letter from Paris. "Charles Stuart, the Tituler Scots King, lives in the Palace Royall, and still in necessity; his Mother went to Challeau on Munday last; he impatiently expects this peace; he could wish to be now in Ireland, so he told some of his own Creatures of late; so would all about him: yet Ormond and Inchiquin tell him plainly that those who

could speedily ^{make Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly} 580 . 213 . 191 . 407 . 13 . 27 . 28 .
 52 . 10 . 402 . ^{at our} 603 . ^{the Ambass^r} denocon. You must lett 668 . 95 .
 know ^{the K.} 546 . that 668 . 220 . hath this day dispatched ^{Lord} 549 .
^{Taff *} 12 . 21 . 18 . 24 . ^{to the Duke of Lorrain} 667 . 668 . 446 . 598 . 231 . (with
 whome he is in singular credit, and is indeede a very
 honest man) ^{to con i v r e him not} 661 . 428 . 27 . 1 . 36 . 23 . 505 . 589 .
 in any degree to disturbe ^{Holland but on} 192 . 417 . 600 . the other
 hande . ^{to he will assist} 667 . declare that 501 . 710 . 401 . 13 . 529 .
^{them against England} 12 . 676 . 414 . 13 . 12 . 164 . which I doubt not
 he will doe heartily. I conceaue my L^d Inchiquin † (though
 I haue not spoken with him of it this day) does not speedily

most oppose the Commonwealth are but Ulster men, which doe not much care for him, and are only for their own ends, which if they could obtain, would never look upon a King, and that if they promise to be faithful to a Parliament they would be constant."

* Lord Taafe was particularly active in the King's Councils, with respect to the affairs of Ireland. A Gazette of that day, alluding to the King's Hibernian proceedings, says, when speaking of the proposed operations of the Duke of Lorraine—" Lord Taafe is the man that manageth the business with the King, which is much opposed by the Lord Wilmot, and some others, as a course very improbable: and this hath occasioned a quarrel, and afterwards a challenge, betwixt Taafe and Wilmot, which with much ado was composed by the Scots King."

† It had been intended, at this period, that Lord Inchiquin, accompanied by Jermyn, should go as Ambassador to Holland, to prepare matters for Charles's reception there.

intende to make use of his passe, but will send to you agayne about it, before he exspectes it fro' you.—It is very true ther was such a summ of mony lately receaued at Paris for the Kinge as you mention, and 40. pistoles of it disposed to that Lady, which is all the mony he hath receaued since he came hither, and in some tyme before, and he hath hope to receaue iust such a summ agayne within these few dayes, but alasse it doth not inable his cooks and back-stayres * men to goe on in the provydinge his dyett, but they protest they can undertake it no longer I hope ther will be shortly another manner of receipt, and then if you should be left out, I should mutiny on your behalfe: in the meane tyme, if it would giue you ease, I could assure you, my L^d

* The public journals, in real or fictitious letters from Paris, asserted loudly that the “quondam” King, as they styled him, had grown so hateful to the people of that city, “since Lorraine's treason, being afraid lest he might find such entertainment from them at the new bridge as others had experimented, and being reduced to nothing to subsist on, and having beggared a multitude of bakers, brewers, butchers, and other tradesmen, on Saturday last departed out of this town with all his family (*nullo relicto*). The Prince of Condé and Beauford accompanied him about a league off the town; he is gone to St. Jermin's, and from thence to St. Dennis, intending for Holland, where keeping a correspondence with the Duke of Lorraine, and likewise with his Mother and his brother Yorke, who are to remain yet in France, he hopes to worke some mischief to the State of England.”

We suspect, from the internal evidence of this Parisian letter, that, like many others of modern date, it is of London manufacture—“*mutato nomine*,” &c. It is not the less curious! *for in those days the public papers were printed with an Imprimatur from Hen. Scobell, Clerk of Parliament!!!*

nor I have one cardicue in the worlde, yett wee keepe up our spiritts: ffor gods sake do you so to, and he will carry you through this terrible storme.—My L^d Jermin is this day gone to the Courte, how longe he stayes I know not. We haue no newes, at least that I know. I pray tell us as much as you know of the Armyes mouinge, and what hope ther is of peace. I am,

Sr,

your very affectionate h^uble ser^vt,

EDW. HYDE.

St Germans this

Tuesday the 6. of Aug.

6. at night. 1652.

This messenger is to returne as soone as the fflanders letters are arryved.

Sr Ri. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

That yours of the 10. of December (which came to my handes the same day that I dispatched my last to you) hath yett brought you no answer, is not my faulte, for as I was takinge penn & paper to do it on Sunday last, your other of the 14. arryued, which derected me to change my course of writinge, and to send no more to Nantz,* but to St. Malos: and indeede I was very gladd to finde that you were bounde for Brest, wher I should haue wished you, notwithstanding any discouragements you receaued from

* Sir Richard Browne was, at this moment, very active in endeavouring to collect the King's dues on the prizes brought into the different ports of France.

thence, except you could bringe a recommendation from this Courte: for Mr. Holder* writes me worde, that a letter from Moun^r Castlenoe would signify very little. I am confident the letter you haue from our Master, will præserue you from any affronts, and then sure your beinge ther will be at least for your owne aduantage, both to collecte what is dew to his Maty upon accounts, † which must be worth somewhat, and will be easily discover'd by what Mr. Holder hath receaued from the Duke, and to receaue the dewes upon ther last pryzes, which will, they say, amounte to a rounde summ.—Though Sr Geo. Carterett was gone out of the towne, when I receaued yours of the 10. yett very contrary to my expectation he returned lither 3 or 4 dayes after, and stayed only one night, when I shewed him your letter; sure he will do all the good offices to you in all thinges he is able. My L^d will obserue the caution you giue him, and will be gladd you can discover any monyes to be dew to him, and he will gladly giue you authority to receaue it; indeed a supply will come as seasonable to him as to any body, for when I haue told you, that none of us haue receaued a penny since you went, you will belieue our necessities to be importunate enough,

* Holder was Secretary to Prince Rupert. He was loyal, and it appears from Lord Clarendon's State Papers that great dependance was placed on him when wanted: yet Sir Edward calls him "the pert, importunate agent of the Catholics." See also p. 272.

† The difficulty which the King experienced in raising any money upon the prizes, is alluded to in "Perfect Passages" of the 15th October 1652: "Prince Rupert hath lately seized on some good prizes; he keeps himself far remote, and makes his kinsman, Charles Stuart, make a leg for some cullings of his windfalls."

which would be more insupportable, if wee did not see the King himselfe reduced to greater distresse then you can believe or imagyne. I perceave the arrest of ffarrande, is upon some pique betweene the Duke of Vandosme and the Marshall Melleray,* betweene whom the contests grew very high, and are like to breake out to such a degree that the Courte is not without apprehension, that it shall not conteyne them both to its seruice, and seemes at present, to be vnsatisfied with the Marshall, and I heare some letters of reprehension are sent to him; therefore this arrest is not like to produce any aduantage to his Maty, besides that it seemes the shipp is out of the power of the Marshall. I haue giuen Choquex the papers, and will conferr with him what is to be done, for it is I perceave true that the shipp and all the furniture was really putt into his handes by Pr. Ruperte,† so that besides the restitution of the vessel, there will be a large accounte to be made: When any thing is resolved, you shall haue an accounte of it.

I am very gladd you haue had so good successe in your suite, I hope it is but an instance of future good fortune at Brest, wher ther is much dew, if you haue receaued so little, as I haue formerly hearde you haue mentioned:—I præsume you haue kept an exacte accounte of all you haue

* Melleray was Governor of Nantes.

† Prince Rupert, just before this period, was in the West Indies, and had with him a fleet of fifteen sail, to which eight Dutch ships were joined in October. He is stated in the journals to have captured ten rich English vessels, whilst cruising off St. Kitts. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that another journal, the "Perfect Passages," places him off Cyprus, and describes him as capturing all vessels that pass him in the Levant.

had upon those assignations, which I putt you only in minde of, because upon conference with Sr Geo. Carterett, he could not belieue it had bene possible, that upon so many pryzes as he obserued to be brought in, you should touch so little, as I assured him had come to your handes. When you went from hence, and vpon occasyon of somewhat I writt lately in a letter to Mr. of the no profit accrewed to his Matie upon that receipte, he answered me that it was impossible much could come to his Matys owne receipte, when he granted so large assignments out of it, and so mentioned in the first place, what was allotted to you, as if it had bene payde.—Wee know nothings of Englande more than that your ffrench Minister was landed at Dover. Wee shall shortly see what his reception hath bene, and shall then better guess at the effects: in the meane tyme, we are at no ease heare. My Lo: of Rochester (for that is my L^d Willmotts title)* is to sett out from hence on Thursday morninge, he trauels with a small trayne, and hath it in his power to assume the title of Ambassadour, † which I suppose he

* There was a considerable difficulty in finding a proper title for Lord Wilmot, since his first proposed one of Essex was claimed by Lord Capel, and that of Danby by the Attorney General; upon which, as stated in the Clarendon Papers, III. 121, "my Lord declined that title, and so his patent is drawn up for the Earl of Rochester."—Also III. p. 57.

† It was hoped that he would be able to induce the German Princes to advance money for the King's private expenditure; and also to interfere with the Dutch, and render them disposed to undertake some decided step in his favour. The King must, certainly, at this period, have been in extreme distress, if we are to credit a letter from Paris in the "Several Proceedings"

will choose to declyne, and do his businesse in a priuate way, which will procure a speedyer dispatch.—God præserue you.

I am, Sr,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Pallais Royale this

24 of Decemb. Christmasse Eue, 1652.

Commend me to Mr. Holder, and lett him know I have now receaued his of the 13.

of 13th December, which asserts that “the titular King of Scots is reduced to so low a condition that he is forced to eat his meals in taverns here at Paris, having not the commodity of dining at home.”

The distress of the King and his friends may indeed well be imagined, when Sir Edward Hyde, not three months before this date, thus expresses himself in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas: “It is no wonder you should desire to be eased, as much as may be, of all kinds of charges. I am sure I have as much reason as any man living to join with you in that thrift; yet I cannot avoid the constant expense of seven or eight livres the week for postage of letters, which I borrow scandalously out of my friends pockets, or else my letters must more scandalously remain still at the post-house; and I am sure all those which concern my own private affairs would be received for ten sous a week, so that all the rest are for the King, from whom I have not received one penny since I came hither, and am put to all this charge; and yet it is to no purpose to complain, though I have not been master of a crown these many months, and cold for want of clothes and fire, and owe for all the meate which I have eaten these three months, and to a poor woman who is not longer able to trust.”

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 22th from Nantes, and am very gladd that you haue passed that parte of your iourny so well; I hope the rest will be as successfull, though I do not exspecte you should finde as good weather to bringe you home, as you haue had to carry you out: The Spanyard* desyred me to giue you my thanks for your care of him, which I do very heartily, and conceaue by this tyme he is gotten into his owne Country, and I do not thinke he will euer visitt ffrance agayne, which he hath no reason to loue, but for the English which he founde heare. Ther hath bene yett no letter from the Mareschall de Melleray, which ther was no reason to exspecte, if you had not mentioned it, as somewhat you thought intended; I am exceedinge gladd that he proceeded so roundly with the English Rebels, as to arrest both the shippes and goods,† I wish they did so in all other partes of ffrance, that they might procede a little more briskely towards ther greate worke, then yett they appeare to doe, but if I am not deceaued, the English will quicken them shortly, if they haue any spiritts left.

* This is a part of the private history of the time, to which there is no certain clue. There were some plans in agitation on the part of the Condeans to persuade both England and Spain to aid them with their arms; and as at this period there were two powerful political parties at Madrid, perhaps the man alluded to may have been a secret agent in the politics of the day.

† This is an event not elsewhere recorded; unless it alludes to the seizures of some ships at Dunkirk, afterwards restored to Cromwell by the French Government.

You must not suspecte your frends kindnesse and affection to you, when I tell you, that your arrett is not yett dispatched: you know how little seruice I can do in that kinde by any personall sollicitation of my owne, more then by callinge upon Sir Ri: Foster,* which I haue often done, and in truth I thinke him to be as carefull in all that concerns you, and in this particular, as a frende can be: But the truth is, he hath bene ill since you went, and your Aduocate hath bene neuer with him, not at home when he went to finde him, and the setlinge the kings businesse with the Surintend't (which is yett farr from beinge settled) hath so worne out the good old man, that he hath not bene yett able to settle yours, which he promises me to dispatch out of hande: I forgott likewise to tell you, that this man is gone from him, which leaues him so much the worse.

I receaued this weeke a letter from Sr Ger. Lucas, under a cover to you, dated from a place called I thinke, I suppose it is somewher in Britany, and I belieue you haue some addresse to him, therefore I trouble you with the inclosed.—All heare are your Seru^{ts}: God præserue you. I am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Seru^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Pallais Royall 29 of Novemb. 1652.

The Kinge would have you giue Mr. Richards all assistance in executinge the orders for the Patricke & Francis,† formerly granted to Sr Ge Carterett: the 10th & 15th are to be payd to the proper reccauers.

Sir Ri: Browne.

* Sir Richard Foster was keeper of the King's privy purse, though he seldom was lucky enough to have any cash in it. Vide Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. p. 46.

† Two of the Jersey privateers.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr

I haue receaued yours of the 26. of Decemb. and am very gladd that you were then upon your way to Brest, wher sure your presence will be more necessary than at Nantes, though it may be, your company was not much desyred ther: you will I suppose finde the seamen and Capt: weary of that Porte, and therefore you are like to be the more wellcome to them, with the proposicon from the Marechall de Melleray,* and if they were once induced to goe to Porte Lewes, I would mooue the Kinge to take notice of it, and to write to the Marechall: I hope you haue founde good store of mony for your selfe at Brest, from the pryzes which haue bene brought in, & that you finde that trybe of Captayns as towardly as Mr. Holder reported them to be, who hath a wonderfull esteeme of them: Though I do not loue to infuse any iealosyes or distrust in any man, of his frends, and those of whome he hath a good opinion, yett I haue reason to warne you, to be a little upon your garde, and not too freely to imparte all

you know or thinke ^{to Mr. H. o l d e r} 667 . 568 . 17 . 2 . 28 . 15 . 23 . 36 .
 who a ... weeke man
 704 : trust me is 4 . 699 . 726 . 573 . and so sottishly cor-

* Melleray was at this momont a great object of jealousy to Cardinal Mazarine, who caused a letter to be sent to him from the King, inviting him to Court, and adding an offer of the command in Champagne; but the Marshal was aware that this was an intrigue to get him and his son to Court, they being suspected as friendly to the Condé party, and therefore he excused himself on pretence of illness, &c. He was Governor of Nantes.

rupted ⁱⁿ 534 . ^{his} 502 . ^{Religion} 337 . ^{that} 673 . ^{hee} 501 . belieues whatsoever
 any ^p 34 . ^r 36 . ⁱ 27 . ^e 7 . ^s 13 . ^t 12 . sayes to him, how ridiculous
 soeuer, and to all these virtues he thinkes himselfe wiser than
 Solomon. Ther are some other reasons for this caution,
 which I cannot expresse at large, which make me belieue
 that ^{he} 501 . ^{is} 529 . ^{not} 589 . ^{so} 645 . ^{iust} 533 . ^{to} 667 . ^{you} 731 . ^{he} 501 .
 ought to be. We are all heare in the same beggarly con-
 dition* you left us, which I thinke by longe custome will
 grow a seconde nature to us: I should be glad to heare
 that Sr Geo. Carterett were come to Brest.—God præserue

* This is rather extraordinary, when even the Parliamentary journals in England state the following remarkable facts, in November 1652: “The King of Scots lies yet in the Palace Royal, whither the King and Queen came to give him a visit, and in abundance of ceremony, to thank him for that great pains he had taken in labouring the healing up of those sad breaches between his Majesty and his people; which Christian office has gained him at Court the title of *Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Pericli Dissipator Gallici, Pacisque Compositor Generalissimo*. ’Tis rumoured that the King of Denmark should send him £.100.000 in gold for a present, with the promised assistance of him and his subjects in the disputing of his cause against all opposers. The Duke of Yorke is still in high favour, and is cryed up for the most accomplished gentleman, both in arms and courtesie, that graces the French Court. The English begin to be admitted dayly into places of high trust and command; and those shaded Cavaliers, whom the world thought worthy of nothing but exilement, begin to be looked upon according to their worth and known gallantry.”

you, and bringe us well together agayne:—I am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 11 of January 1653.

Sir Ri. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE to SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue yours of the 3^d and the 6. of this moneth: and you had receaued an answer to the first before the last had come to my hands, if it had bene in my power to haue returned you such a one as could haue satisfied my selfe. I was as full of the sense of the iniury and indignity that is offred to your Captaynes at Brest, and truly so is the Kinge, as they could wish, but you know iniuryes and acts of iniustice are not as soone remedied and repayed heare, as dicouered: The Kinge wished young L^d Jermin, Mr. Atturney and my selfe, to consider what was to be done, and wee were all of opinion, knowinge what Princes all Gouvernors are at present in ffrance, that it would not be fitt to mooue the Courte, which no doubt knows nothinge of this arrest and restrainte, nor it may be of the bargayne and connivance for the admissyon of our shippes (for you know wee haue bene longe without the benefitt of the printed Order you mention) before Mons. Castlenoe (from whome the orders were without question sent, for his owne benefitt) be first spoken with, and my L^d Jermin* pro-

* Jermyn's influence at the exiled Court had for some time been very great; and is thus described by a journalist of that

mised to doe that presently, and he hoped effectually; but wee finde after longe enquiry that Mons. Castlenoe is gone out of this towne to the Cardinall, nor is it knowne when he will returne, and yett it is thought as necessary, that his minde and resolucon be first vnderstoode: Therefore my L^d Jermyn hath written to him, and inclosed the state of the case, made out of your letters, and Mr. Atturmy hath

period, in a volume of Tracts in the British Museum: "The little Queen is retired to the nunnery at Chaliot, there to spend her time a while in devotion, for the aduance of some designes that she hath on foot; she left her son the fugitive at the Louvre, given up to the bent of his Common Prayer Mongers, and of Jermyn, whose power is now greater with him than any; which is a sure sign that his Mother rules him again, and that he hath resigned his judgment, affection, and all to her, because heretofore there was a sore grudge between him and Jermyn, in regard at his former being here [Paris] Jermyn (who then commanded and still keeps the purse) was very streight handed over him in his expences.—The old Court flies begin now again to flock about him" (30th Dec. 1651) "from all parts. Crofts is returning from Poland, where he called himselfe a Lord Ambassadour, and is to be made a Lord, as soon as he comes (as they would have us believe), for his pains in that employment, and for the charitable contribution of our Polish cousins that (they say) he brings along with him. Some of them are come to the Louvre already out of Flanders, as Hide, a man of dignity too, that calls himself the Chequer Chancellor; here is also Bramhall, of London Derry, Dan O'Neill, Fraiser, a physitian, and one Lloid, a Chaplain. These bring newes, that Buckingham and Secr. Nicholas would have come along too, but that they wanted Ghelt; and the rest of his Majesties black guard and retinue that wander in the Low Countries, if they were sure of daily bread for their attendance."

sent the same to the Duke of Yorke, who wee presume is most like to gett a full dispatch in it, and wee must expecte the answer from thence, and then if there be any cause to complayne at Courte, wee will take the best care wee can, that it be made as it ought to be.

ffor the other businesse concerninge the Marq: of, of which I thinke I writt somewhat to you in my last, Mr. Atturney and I haue spoken with Choquy of it, who expects euery day an answer to what he hath formerly sent to the Marq: and when that comes, or that it appears he desyres not to make any answer, the Kinge will conclude what he should doe as to the revocation.

ffor your Hamborough pryse, you cannot suppose that I will returne a priuate opinion of my owne, in a businesse of that nature, for many reasons, and the Kinge commanded me to aduise with Mr Atturney, and upon both our consideringe the case, as Mr Holder sent it me, wee doe not see it so cleerely stated, as to be able to giue the King any iudgement upon it, since it does not appeare that the goods do at all belonge to any English marchant or ffactor, but for ought appears may be the proper estate of the Hamberghers.

I did not suppose they had suffred you to giue any adiudications ther, and that the former arrest had bene made at Rhemes upon that quarrell: We hope the Duke will be heare within 2 or 3 dayes, and then it will be necessary to receaue his derrection upon all this businesse. My L^d Inchiquin and I are upon some trouble with your Landlord, who yesterday was at your house, and expresses some purpose to seize upon the goods; which we all vnderstande would not only be very mischieuous to you, but very dishonorable to the Kinge, and therefore you may be confident that wee omitt nothing that is in our power to doe, hauinge

not a penny to discharge the debte.* This day Sr Ri: ffofter goes with my L^d Inchiquin to him, to see how farr good wordes and promises will prevayle with him, and all other courses shall be really taken for his satisfaction, that are in the Kinges power. Will ther be nothinge dew upon the Kinges owne share of the pryces brought in by the Patricke & Francis, that might be employed to that purpose? any order should be procured from hence.

I pray convey this inclosed to Ge: Carterett, who I suppose is not still with you. God præserue you. I am heartily.

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Pall: Ro: this 21 of Jaauary 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

* The distress of the King may be faintly appreciated from an extract from the Mercurius Politicus, 8th July 1652, where it is stated: "Charles Stuart, who was said to be gone in our last [from Paris] went not not till some few days after. He made the more haste, because a servant of his was fallen upon, pursued, and beaten, even in his master's place of abode at the Louvre. Hee also was besieged there by the bakers, butchers, and other tradesmen of all sorts, in whose books he is faln very deep; and they feared, if they lost him they should lose their money. But to pacify them they were told his intent was but to go to Rosny upon the way to Roan. His mother marches with him. The small baggage they have is already gone. They give out that they will returne after the peace is made, and condemn this City of ingratitude; alledging that it had bin blockt up by the King before this time, had it not bin for their mediation with his Majesty."

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 7th from the good Govern^r and yourselfe, and this must serue as answer to you both, for I am still in my old posture, not yet able to stirr from my bed. I have not heard these many weekes from Mr. Holder, but I suppose he giues the same informacon to the Duke and his officers, if not, what he sayes is likely to be belieued more then what I shall informe, therefore I must still renew my aduice to you, that you write very particularly to the Duke himselfe, or to some of his officers, of all the obstrucons you meete with, and very particularly of the misdemeanours of the Captaines,* and of any such proposicons and expedients which you thinke fitt to offer for the promoting his seruice, and I make noe doubt but his Royall Highnes will as soone hearken to you, and be aduiced by you, as by any persons. I can giue you no intelligence from hence, whilst I continue thus a prysoner, but truely I thinke they who are abroad know little of moment, the Court here being wholly intent upon battels and matters of pleasure, and our owne affaires being in a dead calme, expecting some gentle gale from some of our neighbours to give them motion, and really I doe belieue y^e good spiritt does improve, since no body can doubt, but y^t the

* The Duke of York was actually at this period with the French Army under Turenne; and though he here appears to have been personally interested in the affairs of the little squadron of privateers, yet there is no mention of it whatever in the Life recently published from his own Memoir.

people in England are generally well prepared for it. This is all I can say to you, but y^t I am to you both
 your most affectionate humble servant,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris 18 Feb. 1653.

The King hath lately bene aduertised by the Govern-
 ment of Innisboffine, that if any Marchantmen will bring
 corne, armes, or ammunicon thither, they shall be sure to
 receiue ready money for it, and that such a supply would
 enable them for some time to exspect greater, and not to
 submitt to the rebells. If it were possible to procure any
 of your Men of War, or any Marchants to resort thither,
 it would be a wonderfull good seruice, therefore I pray de-
 uice all wayes possible to compasse it, and let me know how
 the seuerall letters I sent to you directed to y^t place haue
 bene disposed off.*

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I am sure it can be no newes to you that Pr. Rupert is
 safe at Nantes,† and therefore it is very probable this letter

* These plans and hopes were soon after put an end to by the
 capture of Innisboffin by the Parliamentary Army, it being then
 the last place in Ireland that held out for the King.

† This was the last of Prince Rupert's maritime expeditions
 during the Interregnum. On his return to Europe he cap-
 tured a rich prize laden with tobacco, and having carried her
 into Nantz, in March 1653, he was soon after seized with a
 violent illness, recovering from which he proceeded to Paris,

may not finde you at Brest, but that you may haue thought it fitt to attende his Highnesse, and offer him your seruice. The Kinge hath sent Mr. Holder some deration concerning the Hamborough shipp. If George Carterett * be not with you, I pray send this letter to him by the first safe opportunity, and if he hath not a copy of your cypher, send it to him, I havinge used it in this letter for 3 or 4 lynes, which it is necessary for him to understande. Excuse me, who hauinge no letter of yours to answer, for beinge at present so shorte, which you know is not my naturall faulte. Wee haue reason to hope the Kings affayres are upon a mendinge hande, with reference to Hollande.—God be with you. I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 22 of March (1653).

Sir Ric: Browne.

and was well received by the French King. From thence he went to the Imperial Court; but returned to England at the Restoration.

The small fleet now under the command of Prince Rupert had been originally re-fitted at Toulon; but having met with losses of ships, particularly at the Azores, where his own flagship, the *Reformation*, had been sunk, and the whole crew of 360 men perished, with the exception of Rupert, his brother Maurice, and twelve others, it was found necessary to return to the Northern parts of France, particularly as Admiral Penn, with his squadron, was waiting for them in the Streights of Gibraltar.

* Sir George Carteret, a little before this time, commanded a small squadron of the Royal ships, with which he cruized,

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

About three days since I receaved yours of the 24. of the last moneth, which makes me still wonder how it comes to passe, that yours are so longe upon the way, for it is not possible that the post can be 12 or 14 dayes upon the way from Brest, and so much tyme ther is still betweene your writinge and my readinge. I suppose the Governour is now gone to Nantes, or else he will not wayte on the Prince, which I should be sorry for. the Kinge sent his coach on Wensday to Orleans, supposinge it will meete his Highnesse * ther, or that he will be ther within a day or 2 after, so that wee exspecte him heare on Tuesday or Wensday, and till his returne I do not conceaue that you neede putt your selfe to the troble of a iourny, and if ther be then any occasyon for it, I will aduertise you: If the euidence against the Captaynes be so pregnant as it seemes by you to be, of seuerall theftes and cozinages, how would it be possible for the Judge to declare them innocent? and though it may, it would be difficulte to obteyne iustice against them in that jurisdiction, yett the declininge to giue in the testi-

principally upon the coast of Ireland, and greatly to the annoyance of the Republican Party, if we may judge from their splenetic observations in the journals of the day.

* Prince Rupert. This event is much noticed in the London journals of that period. These journals also assert, upon the authority of some runaway seamen, who landed at Weymouth, "that all the plunder he hath brought is not worth £10,000, and the Swallow is hallen up altogether unserviceable."

mony and charge against them before the proper officer (though it is possible he will not haue power enough to cause reparacon to be made, if he had the will to do it) will be made a greate countenance to them, as if the allegations were not waighty; and I finde (though I am a stranger to all that is done on that syde of the house) that the Cap-taynes are upon all occasyons much magnified, as excellent vsefull ministers.—I am very gladd of that order you mention, against the transportinge the necessaryes for shippinge, which I wonder the more at, because wee conceaue the ffrench Minister at London eury day getts grounde, but I hope they will deceaue each other.—Innisboffin was poorly giuen up aboute the middle of ffebruary, so that now I feare the poore Irish haue only woods and boggs for shelter; I pray keepe all those dispatches safe by you, but you neede not send them backe, till you come your selfe. Hath Ge Carterett a good opinion of Anthonio? I hope ther will be some parte of your house-rent payd out of hande, but I know not what to say to your assignements upon the Prince, who no doubtte will haue occasyon to vse all and more then he can haue brought home, to repayre and fitt out his shippes.*—It is a good and conscientious thinge to pay off any old debts, and good husbandry to discharge those first, for which interest is to be payd; but if I were in your case, I should satisfy my selfe, in keepinge mony

* These were the shattered ships which had returned to Nantz from the West Indian cruize; but another portion of the Royal squadron was now favourably received in the ports of Holland; as is asserted in the "Moderate Publisher" of the 15th April 1653. Indeed it was generally reported that the States had now resolved to give to Charles the title of *King of Great Britain*.

enough in my purse to præserue me a yeere from staruinge, before I thought of paying any debtes. Wee do flatter ourselves with an opinion that our affayres will mende, and that wee shall not stay longe heere, indeede I belieue our Master will putt himselfe into some action this summer, and that wee shall not spende it in ffrance.* God præserue you and,

Sr,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Paris this 12. of April (1653).

Indorsed by Sir R. Browne;

From Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12 Apl 1653. Received 19 Apl.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE to the CHANCELLOR of the
EXCHEQUER.

Right Hon^{ble},

21 April 1653.

Two dayes since I receiued your Hon^{rs} of 12th, by which it appeares that it made better speede hither, then it seemes mine commonly doe to Paris, the cause whereoff is, that betweene this place and Morlaix there is noe settled conuaiance, only the opportunity of such carriers who come uncertainly from thence hither once or twice a weeke to fetch linnen cloth. I haue not yett heard one word from the Governour since his goinge hence: butt Mr. Holder (who yesterday returned from Nantes) assures mee that hee had bene with the Prince some dayes before his Highnesses

* This was a vain hope, for Charles remained in France until the ensuing year.

going for Paris; and that His H. did also acknowledge to him to haue receiued my P're by Sir G: Carterett.*

I perceiue the French minister is nott returned (as wee were made beleiuē) out of England, which I am sorry for, butt hope God in his due time will doe our worke by puttinge his Ma^{ty} into some successfull action worthy his Royall undertaking: and shall with impatience exspect to heare how in case our Maister leaue the kingdome, I shall bee inabled to returne to Paris (one handsome stepp to which the discharge of my house-rent will proue), or be otherwayes disposed off in order to his seruice. If wee had faire play the Kinges dues here would rise to somethinge, butt with this most abominably shocking Gouernour there is such an unpreuentable tyranny in the vpper and corruption of the under officers in this place where we are but *precario*, that it is a shame to see it.

Captain Antonio hath vppon that score quite left this

* How very little chance the Privy Purse had of assistance from the assets of the squadron, may be judged from a letter of Hyde's to Nicholas, where he says: "You must never expect information from me of any of the business of the prize, or any thing that is managed by Prince Rupert, who consults only with the Lord Keeper; and I much doubt very little of that money will come to the King. I shall be satisfied if what is raised on the guns and ship (for all is to be sold) come justly to his hands." Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 200.—And again, in p. 222, he speaks more feelingly: "The truth is, Prince Rupert is so totally governed by the Lord Keeper [Sir Edward Herbert], that the King knows him not. You talk of money the King should have upon the prizes at Nantz; alas! he hath not only not had one penny from thence, but Prince Rupert pretends the King owes him more money than ever I was worth."

port, and will yf hee may be beleined be shortly with you at Paris, where he hath a proces. Sr G. Carteret will giue yr Hon^r an account of him ; for since the receipt of your last I haue written to him soe to doe. He knowes what I thinke of him, and yf his owne opinion bee not better then mine, I doe assure your Hon^r it is nott admirably good : and I doe wish the Kinge would be very sparinge how hee conferre any fauour on him until he deserue better then hithertoo I can say hee hath. I perceiue you haue new councellors sworne & a grand new officer with whom I am obleeged to congratulate. God direct all for the best : soe that the generall of our affaires goe well, it matters not much what becomes of him, who is unfaignedly and æternally Yo^r Hon^{rs}

Most faithfull, most obliged,
and most humble seruant,

R: BROWNE.

Brest 21. April 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir RICHARD BROWNE to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

My last to your Hon^r were of the 28th Aprill, Munday last ; the day followinge in the eueninge came priuatly to this towne the Marquis de Neubourg, youngest brother to the Marq: de Sourdiac, with another gentleman in his company ; who immediately went to the Castle, and after a longe consultation with Mon^r de Camper concealed themselves as much as they could. Yesterday in a small fregat*

* The journals of the day, in allusion to the loyal navy, say :
“ The King of Scots Pickroones play their cards cunningly

which was goinge to sea with his Maties commission, this Marquis, with a Captain, an officer of the Castle, & 150 men, amongst which our turbulent Captain Smyth, imbarqued as priuately as they could with intention to goe and reduce the Isle of Ushant, for which enterprize I heare this Marquis hath brought the French Kinges orders and Mont de Castlenau's recommendations. And I presume the island yf taken, will as formerly bee re-annexed* to this gouernment of Brest. Wee are in hourly expectation what the successe will bee, wheroff your Hon^r may expect account in my next, and accordingly I shall gouerne myselfe in the demand of his Maties dues out of the tobacco that shall be there found, which is nott vpon this occasion to bee neglected. Nott yett one line 'from my deare Sr George Carteret: wee liued together like brothers; and I hope he hath nott soe soone forgotten mee.

Prayinge, &c.

From your Hon^{rs} &c.

R. B.

Brest. 2 May. 1653.

The Hollanders bringe more prizes dayly into the ports vpon this coast. Captain Swart, who commanded The

upon the coast of Jersey; no less then two delicate prizes have they taken and carried to Shawsey Island," (Isle du Choisi,) "amountinge to a great value; besides Captain Chamberlin playes his pranks notably, and trusses up our pore fishermen, even as a falcon doth wild ducks, forcing them to pay tribute to his young master Charles, and exacts a pistol upon all such boats that fetcheth urack [sea wrack] from the said island of Shawsey, belonging to the French King."

* This affair is rather unintelligible, unless we suppose that Ushant had declared for the Condéan party. The tobacco aluded to, may possibly have formed the cargoes of prizes carried in there by the Royal cruizers.

Patricke hath this weeke lanced a small man of warre under the Holland colours; Agent Rameng Coale hauinge undertaken to procure for him a sea-commission from the States of Holland.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 21. of the last, and had one little letter from the Gouvernour* since his departure from you, after he had wayted on the Prince: I belieue he is now busy at Burdeaux, yett sure he will sometymes write to his frends, who haue the lesse reason to be angry with his silence, since his wife knowes so little of him, that shee askes me wher he is. Our reportes of the proceedings of the ffrench minister in Englande are so different, that I know not what to thinke of it, many of our frends at London conceauinge him even ready to come away full of dissatisfaction, & on the contrary the Courte heare belieue, or seeme to belieue, that they haue almost finished a treaty with them to ther content: if the newes which came to the towne 2 dayes since, be true, that Burdeaux hath declared it selfe a common wealth, and is promised protection fro' Englande, ther will be a quicke end of that negotiacon: I wish wee were ready to be gone from hence, though you were not so amply prouyded for, as I wish, yett I doubtte not somewhat would be done towards it: in the meane tyme, I am confident Sr Ric: ffoster hath payd at least halfe a yeeres rent, but I thinke more: I know no new

* Sir George Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey.

councillours made but the Keeper : * and wee haue now another new greate officer, Pr: Ruperte, Master of the Horse : † God præserue you, and send us a good meetinge. I am uery heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble Seru^t,

E. H.

Paris this 3 of May 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I receaued yours of the 28. of the last, and of the 2^d. of this, togither 3 dayes since : I thought all the dutyes of the Marq^s pryzes had bene already in Mr. Bullins hande, and

* Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Keeper since 1652, of whom Clarendon says, that he "thought himself the wisest man that followed the King's fortune ; and was always angry that he had not more to do." His intrigues are humourously depicted by Lord Clarendon, in his own Life, page 123.

† A letter from Paris, in the journals of the day, says : " Prince Rupert is in some measure recovered of his bloody flux, but goes little abroad out of the Palace Royal, because he wants a princely retinue, which I see no probability for him to have in France yet a while. Charles Stuart is at a non plus what to do ; things do not answer his expectations ; his designes faile him."

Another observes : " Prince Rupert flourishes with his blackmoors and new liveries, and so doth his cousin Charles, they having shared the monies made of the prize goods at Nantz ; and in recompence Rupert is made Master of the Horse."

I told him that he should, and he told me he would retayne in his owne hands the 15th for you : I will not so much as enquire into what concernes or may relate to the 10ths. nor a worde more concerninge the commissyons, for which I am sure Edgman neuer expected a penny, but Maffonett did, and had reason to doe, which I suppose Mr. Bennett* had not: but no more of that: nor I pray take any more notice of it.

I receaued a letter from the good Governour within these 2 days from Brouages, which was the first I had from him since his beinge at Nantes, though he sayes he hath writt others. It is no easy matter in that hurry he is in of businesse and remouues to write frequent letters, nor is he good at itt at any tyme, and therefore you and I shall be very vnkinde and vniust to him, if wee suspecte his frendshipp to us, for those omissyons, which all men, but those of the penn, are alwayes guilty of: he is sure a very worthy person, and loues wher he professes soe to doe: you heare what a noble confusion Cromwell hath made, by dissoluinge ther Parliam^t† with all the contempt and scorne imagin-

* This is the person of whom Clarendon says, in his Characters, that he was a man bred from his cradle in the Court, and had no other business in the world than to be a good courtier, in the arts whereof he succeeded so well, that he might well be reckoned in the number of the finest gentlemen of the time; and, though his parts of nature were very mean, and never improved by industry, yet, passing his time always in good company, and well acquainted with what was done in all businesses, he would speak well and reasonably to any purpose.

† Alluding to the events of the 21st April, when he entered the house at the head of a party of soldiers, took away the mace, and ordered the doors to be locked up. A few days afterwards

able, and now those adored members, and of the Councell of State, are looked upon by all, as they deserue to be: what be ther next acte, is our great expectacon, and what influence that which is done, must haue upon forraigne nations, who were treatinge with them: sure some notable crisis is at hande, worse I hope wee cannot be. All thinges are heare as they were, Sr Ric. ffoster hath payed 500^{li}. for your rent, and hath acquittance only for so much, but no information, what the contracte is, or how much is still in arreare. God send us a good meetinge in England, which is not despayred of by,

Sr,

Your very affectionate servt,

E. H.

Paris May 19. 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

20 May 1653.

Yesterday I gaue yo^r Hon^r notice of my being called to Nantes; this morninge as I am ready to putt foote in stir-

a bill was stuck upon the door—"This House to be let, now unfurnished." The London papers of that day said, as by letter from Paris, "Charles Stuart pretends to be as glad at the dissolution of the Parliament of England, as at the coming of his brother Henry to him, but I think they are both but frolics. He hath received intelligence from Rome, that the Pope will have nothing to do with him, and in no case have dealing with him, as being not only inconstant and unsettled what to do, but unable to do any thing."

rop, Captain Sadlington's* fregat arriues from the coast of Irland with the bearer hearoff O'Sullivane Beirne,† a person whom I find noe lesse by his owne discourse then by the testimonye of all his countrymen here, very well affected to his Maties seruice: He comes deputed from such of his Maties faithfull subjects as yett remaine in the west side of Munster: and hastens now towards Paris to giue his Matie an account of those parts: which though of it selfe it bee recommendation enough, yett at his request, I take the boldnesse by these to addresse him to y^r Hon^{rs} acquaintance, and by y^r fauour to his Maty: The state of whose affaires, I hope hee may by Gods goodnesse find in a condition able to afford such releife as may excite and animate these embers of loyalty into a fire, nay flame, sufficient to destroy and consume the circumambient and the now too predominant contrary of haynous treason and unparaleld

* Captain Sadlington was retained in the service after the Restoration, and fell gallantly fighting for his country in the year 1673, on the 4th of June, in the action with Van Tromp. He then commanded the Crown, under the orders of Prince Rupert.

† O'Sullivan Beirne was a gentleman of some landed property in Ireland, living near Beerhaven, and was of such consequence in that part of the country, where the clans of O'Sullivan were very numerous, that he was chosen general of the forces raised in aid of the Royal cause. The reason of this visit to France seems to be accounted for by the following extract from the "Severall Proceedings" of the 30th June, 1653: "From Ireland it is certified, that a party of Irish, of General Bear's men, had a design to have surprized some garrisons; but, having notice, a party fell upon them in their march, routed them, and killed many; and Bear himself, with some other officers, got into a boat, and fled over into France."

rebellion. In which good omen I kisse yo^r Hon^{rs} hands,
and rest

Y^{rs} &c. &c.

R. BROWNE.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHAD BROWNE.

Sr,

I receaved yours of the 7. 3 dayes since and yesterday your other of the 10. and returne this by the same hande which brought me yours, which seemes to be very sollicitous and confident to returne it safely and speedily to you: I haue sent you such a letter from his Ma^{ty} to the Marshall, as in my vnderstandinge is necessary, and I hope if any thinge would, will præuayle with him. To haue inserted the memoire it selfe would not haue bene so proper, since it cannot be supposed to be within his Ma^{ty}s proper cognisance. Your letters concerninge O'Sullivan Beare are not come to my hands.

Upon the receipt of your former I did send the inclosed to Mr. Bennett, who hath notwithstandinge not vouchsafed to conferr with me a worde about the businesse, and when I sent to him to know whether he would send any thinge to you, and lett him know what his Ma^{ty} had directed, he returned me answer that I might haue spared his Ma^{ty} that labour, for the Duke had done the same, but I hope actes of supererogation in this kinde will do no harme: it may be he will send his letters under this cover.

Ther is no questyon that I know concerninge your accounte, it is fitt you should alwayes haue it ready, and produce it when it is called for, and I doubt not you will

receave all iust allowance, and truly I am heartily glad that it hath brought so seasonable a reliefe to you: * our Master thinkes of remououinge, but when or whither is not yett determined. Wee exspecte euery day newes of an engagement at sea betweene the two flectes, the successe of which may probably alter † the temper in both Coun-

* It appears from the public journals that a seasonable supply had arrived for the Royal family at this moment. The "Faithful Post," of the same date as this letter, says, in a letter from Amsterdam, "Here is arrived the adventurer called the Spanish Bark; coming from Rochelle: he hath taken three prizes about the West, which he hath sold in France, amounting to a great value, which is distributed by the Commander in Chief, Capt. Grimes, as followeth—to the poor distressed widow, our late Queen, £1000; King of Scots, £3000; Duke of York, £2000; Duke of Gloucester, £1000."

† The action did take place, and the Dutch were defeated. The consequences, if we are to believe a letter from Paris in the public journals, were very inimical to Charles's interests at the Court of France; for it was there stated that "the news of the defeat given by the English to the Dutch much startled the Court, and indeed all France; those of Charles Stuart's followers gave out reports at first that the Dutch had beaten the English, and that he was to go to Holland, and that they would do great things for him, and the English went vapouring of it up and down the streets, and some of them were soundly *foxed*; but the next day came news to several merchants of this city, besides letters to the Courts (which were kept more private), that the Dutch were beaten, and had sustained a very great losse: upon this there was a great meeting of the Council with the King, and their countenances very sad all about the French Court, and divers of the English going through the streets of Paris were so mocked and jeered that they have been ashamed almost to show their heads abroad."

cells, at London and at the Hague, the last still pressinge most vnreasonably ther desyres of treaty. I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Servt,

E. H.

Paris this 14 of June 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 30 of June by Mr. Holmes, & a duplicate of by your mayde, to nether of which ther needes any answer, my last which you since haue had satisfyinge the contents of those. Since, your other of the 5. of July are come to my handes.

To what concernes the Marshall I can add nothinge, till I know in the way I advised what his prætenes are; nor haue I any reason to imagyne that he hath taken any excepcons to your person, only when I asked, why it was desyred that the busynesse might be referred to Pr. Rupert, since being not upon the place, his Highnesse could not so easily giue direction upon it, answer was made to me, that it might be, that the Marshall desyred not to treat with Sr Ri. Browne: and truly in those cases, when men aske vnreasonable thinges, it is no wonder that they haue no minde to be pressed by publique Ministers.*

* This alludes to the rapacious conduct of the Marshal with regard to the prizes, and the stores of the ships that were sold.

I doubt I shall not be able to finde a copy of your peticon and order from the Kinge, if I can I will, nor will I do any thinge upon that businesse, till upon your view of the whole accounte you can see in what state you are, and then I will procure such orders as are necessary; till then it is to no purpose to discourse of it: nor is it proper for me to send to Mr Windham* (with whome I haue no correspondence) to know what you haue receaued from him, you will state all that upon your accounte. The course I propose to my selfe to obserue is, that the Kinge signe a warrant to you, to deducte out of your receipts satisfaction for all such warrants which he hath formerly signed upon others, and which haue prooued ineffectuall to you; and if that satisfyes for the tyme past, advise what will bee best, to order for the future.

Wee are full of expectation what will be the issue of the treaty in Englande† betweene the Dutch and the Rebels,

* Mr. Windham, as early as 1652, had been appointed the receiver of the King's fifth in all prizes; and this by the King's special appointment, in opposition to the Duke of York's recommendation of the Bishop of Derry. The situation was one which Sir Edward Hyde had been very anxious to obtain for his godson, son to Sir Edward Nicholas. Vide Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. pp. 112, 118.

† The public journals of the time gave a very different view of the feelings of Charles's little exiled Court, asserting that they were constantly engaged "in forms of Common Prayer" for the success of the Dutch fleet over that of England! Nor were the Saints at home particularly anxious for peace, on the pretence that the "work of the Lord is not yet done; that the sword must not be sheathed, untill they have brought down the tyranny of Rome, and restored poor ignorant captives to a gospel enjoyment of the universal freedom."

which our friends ther do not belieue like to produce any reconciliation: and then I hope wee shall quickly leave this place, the which our poore Master prouydes to doe. The same day brought the newes of the takinge Bourgue by the Duke of Vendosme and Rhetell by Marshall Turgu, and yett the Prince of Condé is confident the English will relieue Burdeaux.*

I am, Sr,

Your very affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 12 of July (1653).

Sr Ri. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

Paris this 30th of July (1653).

I haue receaued yours of the 23. of July, as I had before your other of the 16. I deliuered your other to Pr: Ruperthe, and he hath promised mee to write to the Marshall, who he sayes he knowes will make no scruple to deliuer those parcells to you and the Dukes officers, which concerns the 10th & 15^{ths}, which beinge done, you are not to make any instances in the Kings name, for the rest, till his Maty shall be better informed, and you receaue other orders: so that you are only to looke for the 15. and 10ths.† I

* The Prince of Condé was mistaken.

† This system of temporizing with the avaricious detainer of the captured property, to which the exiled Court was reduced, is not only a convincing proof of the inhospitable conduct of the French Government, but also of their want of authority over their own officers, if they did not participate in the plunder.

desyred the Prince to send his letter for the Marshall inclosed to you, but he was not willinge to do that, because ther is an agent heare of the Marshalls with whome he transactes all, and by whome he promises such directions shall be giuen, that upon your repayinge to the Go-uernour (which is all you neede to do) that shall be done which wee exspecte: it is now the tyme that the businesse of the pryze is transactinge, and therefore the Prince desyres that all compliance be vsed towards the Marshall, and that wee do nothinge to anger him:—I finde the Mar: pretends the stoppage the other goods upon pretence of much money dewe to him as Admirall of Britany, upon many pryzes brought into those portes by the owners of those goods. I yett heare nothing of Anthonio.

I know not what to say to your mayd, nor the information shee hath receaued, but I assure you, the King takes all possible care that the house receaues no affronte, and to that purpose hath had a consideracon of it in Councill within these 3 dayes, in which, particular order is taken, that his former directions to you, and to Dr. Cozens, be reuiued and renewed, for the keepinge up the seruice* carefully when he shall leue this place: and I had order to sende for your landlord, and together with Sr Ri: ffoster, to renew to him his Matys gracious promises that he shall not be any looser: I intende this day to send to him to come hither: ther are yett only 500^{lis}, payde of the rent

* Dr. Cosins (afterwards Bishop of Durham) was one of the King's Chaplains, often mentioned by Mr. Evelyn in his Diary; and this relates to having the service of the Church of England regularly performed at Sir Richard Browne's house, which Mr. Evelyn says was always done.

by Sr Ri: ffoster: when mony can be gotten, more shall: in the meane tyme, the Kinge himselfe commanded me to write to you; that you should if possible returne some mony to the landlorde, in parte of the rent, out of your receipts ther, with such a letter for his encouragement that he may vnderstande it to be his Matys mony, and sent by his order, and I thinke you will be no looser by it, for heareby I shall be able to keepe off all prætences and importunities for other orders, w^{ch} his Maty hath promised to me. I have no more to say, but that I am,

Sr,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Servt,

E. H.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 26. of the last moneth, and by this tyme I suppose Pr: Ruperte* is with you at Nantes, so that you can iudge what is like to become of your busi-

* His Highness had nearly lost his life a few days before this date, as recorded in a journal of that period: "Paris.—We have not much of newes here; but the river Seine had like to have made an end of your black Prince Rupert; for some nights since hee would needes coole himselfe in the river, where he was in danger of drowning, but by the help of one of his blackmores escaped. His Highnesse (it seems) has learnt some magic amongst the remote islands; since his coming hither he hath cured the Lord Jermin of a feauer, with a charme; but I am confident England is without the jurisdiction of his conjuring faculty."

nesse better then I, but his Highnesse seemes to me to be confident that the Marshall will make no question of deliueringe the 10th and the 15th. but it seemes he claymes accounts for the rights of his Admiralty of Britany,* upon which he thinkes ther is a greate arreare dew to him from all those who haue carryed pryzes into Brest: And to this pointe you shall do well to instructe your selfe as well as may be, and whether his Officers at Brest ever demanded any thinge before he made this seizure at Nantes, for in truth I know not how to answer this; if he hath the rights of Admirall due to him in all the portes of Britany, and none of our shippes haue euer payd him any, by virtue of ther deere-bought protection at Brest, I do not wonder he takes the best way he can to recover his dewes, when wee fall into his dominions: Ther is not the least thought of Ostende in the pointe: My opinion is, that you should do the best you can to gett the 10th and 15th. and you are to vse his Matys name to no other purpose, and then lett the rest petition the Prince (since his Maty hath referred

* There were also other difficulties respecting those prizes; for the French Court were at this period, or at least Mazarine was, so anxious to conciliate the favour of Cromwell, that they actually suffered an arrest to be made upon the prizes, the affairs connected with which were very badly managed, as Sir Edward Hyde observes in another place, by Sir Edward Herbert, whom he describes as despising all men, and looked upon by Prince Rupert as an oracle. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 177.

The paltry conduct of Mazarine, surpassed even by that of Marshal Melleray at Nantes, on this occasion, may be further seen on reference to Clarendon's History, vol. III. pp. 405, 6, where Melleray's is also justly depicted in its proper colours.

the matter to him) to mediate for fauour to the Marshall, for it is playne he will haue somewhat out of it, if not the whole: God blesse me from your ffrench Governours: Concerninge your house I can add nothinge to my last: nor will any care be omitted to keepe up the seruice. God præserue you. I am,

Sr,

your affectionate hu^{ble} Servt,

E. H.

Paris this 2^d. of Aug. (1653).

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

Yours of the 31. of the last (which is the last I haue receaued from you) gaue me so much ioy, that as soon as I receaued it, I thought it my duty to imparte the good newes to the Kinge, who upon reading that clause, made not the least scruple that Mr. Morrice* was in safety, of which since wee see no euidence, I pray send me worde, how it was possible for you to be deceaued, and how the reporte came to you: I told you in my last, that it is too manifest, that Innisboffin is deliuered up, so that there is nothinge to be done with those dispatches, but to keepe them. I can add little of newes, only that the Court hath new argument of tryumph, upon a late victory of some considerable party of the Pr: of Condé,† wher they tooke many

* For an account of Mr. Morrice, see at the end of these Letters.

† The conduct of the Condéan army at this period was of a most discreditable nature, if we are to believe the following

prisoners and some officers of eminent quality: The Dutch yett proceede very slowly, as well in order to ther allyance with this Crowne, as in any declaracon for our Master, notwithstandinge which my hopes are not abated, nor do I thinke a peace almost possible to be made betweene the two Commonwealths, and all this addresse which is so much spoken of, is only a letter from a priuate man, without any knowledge of the Pro: of Hollande, much lesse of the States Generall, who resent the præsumption. Lett me know, whether Mr. Bennett did euer requyre the ffees from you upon any of the Commissyons which I deliuered to you, or how he comes to prætende to them: howeuer you shall by no meanes take the least notice of this question, nor declyne the course you intended, for I am sure I neuer intended to receaue penny fro' them, but would gladly know how he claymes such ffees. I wish you all happynesse, and am,

Sr,

Your very affectionate Servt,

E. H.

Paris this 19. of Aug. 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

statement in a letter from Paris of the 8th of August 1653, in the "Faithful Scout." "The Prince of Condé is become very considerable, and exceeds the K. in number of forces, being 7000 foot and 1000 horse, besides the Spanish auxiliary army under the command of Gen. Fuensaldague, which makes 13,000 horse and foot. His Highness hath sent several challenges to Marshall Turein to fight; but he declines; so that he hath given Condé an opportunity to get within eight leagues of Paris, plundering all, his Germans ravishing the nuns, and ransacking all religious houses, firing suburbs of towns, and enforcing contributions from others. He made way so far as to come and dine at his own house, where he and his commanders were as merry as so many Princes."

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaved yours of the 15. of Octo: but nether know nor can imagyne* the reason of your longe silence, but conceaue it procedes from some such cause as made you wish that it might not be interrupted by any provocation from me: and yett it was not possible for me to do you any seruice without beinge instructed by you in the way, the businesse standinge as it did. I heare nothinge of Choquez, and what his undertakinge is I know not. I asked the Kinge whether he knew any thing of the businesse, and I haue reason to believe that he nether hath nor will giue any order in that affaire without askinge me how the case standes; but if you give me no cause to move publicquely in it, it is no wonder if I say nothinge of it, and if you do write upon the argument, you will write so that the letter may be reade at Councell, any other advertisements you will put in a paper aparte. I heare nothinge of the wyne, nor know not any thinge of Nantes, when they come away, who are ther, or what they do ther.

The Kinge hath spent the last fortnight in the country at Chantilly, and returned hither on Wensday last: and proposes to goe backe thither agayne tomorrow, and I suppose will spende his tyme ther, till the fayre weather be done: I can tell you little of newes, the distractions I

* Though Sir Edward Hyde was too sanguine in the hopes expressed in this letter, yet the plain good sense manifested throughout, alike above that listless apathy which deadens enterprize, and that hasty enthusiasm which mars it, affords sufficient reason for the King's partiality and confidence in his counsels.

thinke are so high in Englande, that ther must be some suddayne alteration: and I depende more on that, then any thinge that can happen abroade, wher there is little care of honour, or any thinge but ther owne present conveniences. It may be, all the pause in your businesse is in contemplation of the greate pryze, and I would not interrupt that, by any meddlinge in a matter so particular and inferior as the other; but if that were at an end, or I knew what were like to come of it, I would be very importunate to knowe what the grounde of the proceedinge is. If ther be no reason to the contrary, I shall be gladd to heare from you, and as particularly as you please; but if you thinke it in any consideration inconvenient, I referr it wholly to you, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your very affectionate hu^{ble} Servt,

E: H

Paris this 26: of Oct: (1653.)

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir RICHARD BROWNE to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

With humble acknowledgments of your last favour of 26. Octobr I can now give your Hon^r this brief account of my businesse here on which I haue soe longe and with much charge and trouble attended. Captain Anthonio hath without any consent of mine, nor doe I know with what power from the rest of the witnesses, payed the Mar^l fifteen thousand livres, and by this means obtained *main-levée* [removal of the arrest] of all the goods arrested, and

consequently gotten them all into his hands.* By H. H. Prince Rupert's order I haue now commenced a sute in law for recoverie of the fifteenths, and the Duke of Yorkes interest (both which the Mar^l allways intended to restore without diminution) and his highnesse doth soe nobly support and countenance me therin, that I hope eyther by decree of justice, or by the Captains voluntary rendition, to have a speedy end, & therby be soon able to remit to Paris that money his Ma^{ty} hath ordered towards satisfaction of my Landlord.

I haue (together with money for the charges of the carriage) committed to Mr. Killigrews care, a butt of Canary wine divided into three barrells. The one wheroff I humbly present to his Ma^{ty}, the other to his R. H. and the third to the Lords at Court.†

Soe praysinge God for his Maties happy recovery of health, and dayly prayinge for the same.

Nantes first No^r 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue yesterday receaued yours of the 1. and the 4. of this month together, & this day gave the Bill of Exchange to Mr. Deane, who will be very glad that he is provyded to

* The whole of this affair is deserving of notice, and strongly marks the jockeyship of the avaricious Governor.

† The politic attention of Sir Richard in this instance shews how fit he was for a courtier—even upon a small scale. How far he was prudent in trusting Killigrew with the wine may be doubted!

comply with some parte of your landlordes importunity, and we shall all have the more ease by it. I heare the Canary wyne is come to Paris, but no men'con of the delivery of it, being conceaved to be Mr Killigrews owne wyne,* so that I expecte a very small share of it, but have acquainted his Maty and my LL^{ds} with that parte of your letter, and my L^d Chamberlyne will enquire after it: You cannot imagyne I can misinterprett any acte of yours, which I know can not want kindness to me; your silence was very fitt, and I guessed so much at the reason of it, that I complied with it, and yet (as you say) all is little enough, and iealous natures will alwayes finde somewhat to worke upon, to disquyett themselves and others, and I know no cure to apply to those, who are not pleased with fayre and open dealinge.†

I hope you haue not suffered your selfe to be too much a loser by Capt: Anthonio, with whom you know how to deale well enough: at least if he intends to haue any more to do with us: I hope ther is care taken to giue Geo: Carterett satisfaction, who over apprehends discourtesy from hence, and that he was putt out of the Kinges protection, when God knowes the Kinge resolved to do all he could for him and the other adventurers, as soon as the case should be so stated that he knew what to presse, but it

* The Chancellor's suspicions of Tom Killigrew are not surprising!

† It has already been hinted, in an antecedent note, that Sir Richard Browne had many enemies at the exiled Court. Hyde had many also; and no doubt all this caution in the correspondence of the two friends was for the purpose of guarding against the malevolence and insinuations of Court sycophants. Vide Hyde's preceding letter of the 26th October.

seemes all is now composed, and it is a notable ffyne you have payd to the Marshall, if the commodityes were not of a huge value: God preserve me from such governours.— Wee are yett in the country, which the Kinge is better pleased with then with Paris, and truly he hath recovered his health most miraculously: But if the weather changes, as it is like to doe, I suppose we shall looke backe to Paris: and then any good newes will carry us away. I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Chantilly this 10: of Novemb: (1653.)

Sir RICHARD BROWNE to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Right Hon^{ble},

I have here received your Hon^{rs} of the 10th Nov^r for which I sende humble thankes, as bringinge with it the assurance of my standinge upright in your opinion: your friendship being one of the greatest consolations I have in the midst of all my sufferinges. I humbly submitt the adjoynd for your management: yf you approve not ther-off, and had rather convert the summ mentioned to your own use, order it how you please and to whom you would have the bill made: perhaps you may think Mr. Edgman a fitt person to be trusted with the secret, that soe little notice may be taken. The three barrells of Sacke are yett here; in company with them goes a fourth vnder Sir Gervais Lucas * his name, which is a present I make to y^r Hon^r

* The whole of this is confirmation of the preceding note. Sir Gervais Lucas had been a cavalry officer in the Royal cause during the Civil Wars.

wherewith to rejoyce yourselfe and friends : Only I intreat you that the good Lady Lucas may have her physicall proportion out of it. warmed keepest her alive as shee herselfe sayth. That you will not give Dr. Earles half a dozen of bottles I cannot doubt. The person I last mentioned in cipher will tell you notable stories when he comes to you. To him I refer all. You may beleeve him, for hee is much a man of honour. Being ready to goe from hence I expect to find your answer hereto in Mr. Richards his hands at St. Malo's. This is all at present from,

y^r hon^{rs} most faithfull and most obliged

humble servant,

R. BR.

The following is the Paper adjoined :

I have formerly acquainted you that I cannot make up my accounts untill I returne to Brest, which I am now hastening: In the interim, finding that some monyes of his Maties will remaine with me, I humbly submitt it to your Hon^{rs} consideration whether a hundred Lewises in gold will not be acceptable to his Maty to be by your Hon^r privately delivered into his owne Royall hands, towards his merry playing,* wherewith to passe his time at cards this approaching Christmasse. This I shall be able to performe

* See p. 312. Lord Jermyn's conduct as cashier for the Royal expenses seems not to have been very respectful or honourable towards his Sovereign, if we are to credit Lord Clarendon, who roundly asserts, in his History, that whilst Jermyn kept a coach of his own, and an excellent table for those who courted him, yet the King, even when having the most urgent want of 20 pistoles, could not find credit to borrow them!

from St. Maloes, if I may there meet with encouragement.
This is all at present from,

y^r Hon^{rs}

most faithfull and most
obliged humble servant,

R. BR:

Nantes 18. Nov^r 1653.

Mr. Chan: of the Excheqr.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 18. and since you are so well provyded, I cannot but commende your designe, and as I believe the Kinge does not expecte such a present, so I am sure it will be most wellcome to him, and I will promise you to present it to him, in so secrett a manner, as nobody shall know it but himselfe; and be confident I will never conuerte one penny that belonges to him, to my owne use, in what straits soever I should be.

I like very well your distribution of the sacke, and I will not bragge of my share, nor fayle of delivering the proportion you assigne, and if the good lady comes hither, (as by yours I guesse she intendes to do, though Paris at present is a place of prodigious expence, every thinge double the pryse of what it was when you left it) the vessel shall stay with her; and I there shall be sure of iustice, and I will fetch my allowance in bottles: Lett me only giue you this warninge, that the carriage be payd for, as I thinke you told me in your former that it was, and I am sure I cannot do it, and then, the sooner it comes the

better.* Wee are full of expectac'on of good newes from all quarters, and I hope some of it will be of such a nature that will call us from hence, which I will be sure to giue you an accounte of as soone as I can : I wish you all hap-pynesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate huble Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Paris this 24 of Novemb: (1653.)

Sr Ri: Browne.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Right hon.

Mons^r de Varennes, Intendant of Marqu. de Castlenau's affairs at Brest, havinge beene from that towne deputed to the States of Bretany, Mars^l de Milleray did there declare unto him that he pretended nott to abate any part of what belonged unto him in the loading of the fleete which hee had seased, and for *mainlevée* wheroff hee had received 15000 livres. Wheruppon this gentleman came hither to demand his right, & after a weekes digladiation at law with Captain Antonio, the Captain yeilded up the cudgells and gave him satisfaction. My desire to see the issue of this suite in law causinge my stay here longer then I intended, hath brought me hither your Honours favour of 15 Nov. which containinge an intimation of something of

* The whole of this letter is an interesting illustration of the distresses of a man who was afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, and father-in-law of a King. It has been the fashion to run down the restored Court of Charles; but surely his exiled Court could boast some instances of honour and honesty that would have been immortalized if in classic times.

complaint against (as they call it) the King of Englands Admiralty at Brest, I considered myself whether it will be fitt for mee to goe now into Low Bretany before I haue once again shewed myself to the Mar^l and received his commands (who they say will bee here shortly) least he againe come uppon us with a second costly after-reckon-inge, grounded uppon pretence of not beinge sufficiently applied unto, or of being neglected in his government; at least not untill I have your Hon^{rs} sence heruppon, which I humbly beseech you to vouchsafe mee, sending y^r letters as you please, eyther directly hither, or by the way of Mr Richards, thorough whose hands I expect answers of my last of 18th currant.

I render humble thankes to your Hon^r for the sanguine part of your letter, resultinge out of the good newes from Germany and England. God of his mercy improve these comforts to us; and preserue his Mat^{ties} sacred person, and vouchsaef him a speedy establishment uppon the throne of his Royal progenitors. Soe prayes dayly and heartily,
y^r Hon^{rs}, &c.

Nantes 29 Nor 1653.

The same to the same, accompanying the preceding letter.

Right Hon^{ble}

I am told that the Prince [Rupert] hath now totally settled his businesse with the merchant, and staves only to see performance. Meane time Sr Gervais Lucas hopes to be goinge with his lady some time the next weeke for Paris, and takes along with him that commodity for your Hon^r w^{ch} I thought would have accompanied the other 3 which are now upon their way. Mr. de Varennes carries a letter recommendatory from mee to y^r Hon^r. Yf hee

uppon his maisters the Marqu. de Castlenau's recommenda-
tion hath thus enjoyed the benefit of favour and protection
in his part, how much more might wee (had not an un-
handsome eclipse happened) his Maties subjects and servants
uppon our Royal Maisters gracious owning of us? beleeve
me the Captain doth now sufficiently repent his unpro-
fitable, unadvised, nay precipitate performance of Mons^r
Choquere his bargain.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaued both yours of the 29. of the last, & can-
not imagyne, how any thinge I sayd to you in my former
letter could make you deferr your iourney, nor can I add
any thinge to what I then sayd, havinge not heard since of
the complayntes, and you must indeed know the temper of
those places much better than I can doe: I perceave by
what you say of Mons^r Varrennes that wee are nothing
beholdinge to the Marshall, who it may be without our
frends helpe would not have beene able to have done us so
much prejudice. Lett me know when you goe from
thence, and wher my letters may finde you. The Capt.
doth well to quitt his old friends, and betake himselfe to
new who know better how to use him. Wee heare not
yett of Pr: Rupertes comminge hither, but meethinkes he
hath bene longe absent. Hath Sr Ge: Lucas absolutely
quitt his ffarme in Britany, or doth he only repayre hither
for health. Meethinkes the comodity you mencon should
not be worth the charge of so longe a voyage by lande.
The Duke of Yorke is returned hither, full of reputac'on

& honour,* and the ffrench Courte is expected on Sunday or Munday. I can tell you little newes: our frends in Hollande do not believe the treaty will produce a peace, and for an instance that the States do not so much depende upon it, they have given a licence this last weeke to Ge: Middleton,† to transporte armes and ammunicon for Scotlande, which is a good signe: I suppose you heare frequently from Englande, where sure the confusion is very high, and it is exspected that they will declare Crumwell Protector of the 3 kingedomes, that his single influence may compose those distractions, which the multitude cannot doe, for Mr. Peters himselfe now professes that Monarchy is the best government. God send us well under it. I am,

Sr,

Your most affectionate servt,

E. H.

Paris this 6. of Decemb: (1653.)

Sir RICHARD BROWNE to Sir EDWARD HYDE.

Right Hon^{ble},

This being onely to give course to a bill of exchange for one hundred Lewis's of gold in specie payable at sight unto

* The Duke had been serving under Turenne, and had just before this period distinguished himself much at the siege of Mousson. Being disappointed in his wishes to be present at the siege of St. Menchoud, he had repaired to his brother's Court, in order to accompany him during part of his route from France to Germany.

† Middleton bore the rank of lieutenant-general, and was very active in Scottish affairs, as Charles's agent with the Highlanders and other Loyalists in that country.

Mr. William Edgman, which I have desired Mr. Richards to inclose herin at St. Malos.

Nantes 10 Dec. 1653.

The Same to the Same.

Right Hon^{ble},

Nantes 20 Dec. 1653.

My last unto your Hon^r were of 10. Dec. with an inclosed bill, which Mr. Richards assures me will be punctually payed this very day (20 Dec^r) at Paris. My desire now is (in case you approve theroff and will at my humble request vouchsafe to accept this poore tender of my service) to transmitt to your Hon^r a supply of money for your owne occasions in that now extraordinary deare place, which I am the more apt to beleive in regard that the price of all thinges here rayseed a third since my cumminge into this province. I doe nott desigine lesse than a thousand livres, and am very sorry I cannot performe it untill I draw a somme from Brest, in which I find great difficulty at present, noe man being willinge to meddle with money, in regard of the approachinge fall at the end of this month. By this abatment in the species I am like to sustaine not an inconsiderable losse, for I heare they have this good while payed the Kings dues at Brest according to the rate the money went many monthes since, when the commoditis were sold (*viz.*) Lewises of gold at 12 livres and of silver at £3. 9s. And I am told the Duke of Yorkes receivers can gett noe better quarter. I know not why I should nott make the just reparation of this losse as an article in my account, as well as the Treasurer of the States of Bretany, who hath on this consideration lately had seven thousand crownes indemnification adjudged him by Act of the States. By way of St Malos your Hon^{rs} next commands will find

mee, and you may well imagine your presence, tho not possible, will be most heartily wished, and your health noe lesse cordially celebrated.

I am now to acknowledge your Hon^{rs} favour of the 24. Nov. & 6 Dec^r. The three first vessells of sacke are doubtlesse longe since arrived by water at Orleans, there expecting Mr. Killigrew's order, who is desirous to present them himselfe. I have allready furnished him with some money towards the charges, and have taken care to defray at Paris the whole port of them and of the 4th which went hence in boate the beginninge of this weeke with noble Sir G. L. [Gerv. Lucas] and his lady, who have quite abandoned this province, the Ladies intention being to goe 'ere longe into the greater Bretany. I desire your Hon^r to give credit to him in many thinges with which hee will acquaint you, for hee is much a man of honour and integrity. Hee will tell you to what degree wee have (as you well call it) had our freinds healp and furtherance in the payment of the 15 thousand livres fine, &c. I did not till uery lately know that my Lord Percy now Lord Chamberlin was come to the Kinge, and I am likewise told that he is much in your intimacy, of which, if true, I am uery glad, for hee hath beene my noble freind of a date little lesse than 30 yeares old. I pray if your Hon^r thinke it fitt be pleased to present my humble seruice and congratulations to his L^{pp}.

Prince Rupert hath now quite finished his businesse with the marchant that lost the sugar prize, and speakes of goinge hence for Paris within few dayes.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I have yours of the 20. as I had before your former with the bill, which was punctually payd,* and delivered to the Kinge, for which you shall have his acquittance, and I must tell you, it came very seasonably to him, and most acceptably, of which you shall heare more hereafter. ffor your new noble offer, I am not in a condic'on so plentifull to refuse, for I must tell you that I have not had a Lewes of my owne these 3 moneths; therefore when you send the bill, lett me know whether you lend me so much out of your owne little stocke, or whether it be the Kings money, for in that case, his Maty shall be the disposer,—since my office hath never yett nor shall intitle me to take his mony without his derectiō.† Ther is no question any fall of

* See page 307.

† The delicacy manifested by Sir Edward Hyde in this transaction must surely become matter of record in future history, when the party prejudices of the Civil Wars, for such still exist, shall moulder in the tomb of oblivion, like the ashes of those whose conduct and opinions gave to them a local habitation and a name.

The charges to which he next alludes were those brought against him by the Queen's party, who were unwilling that he should execute the duty which Lord Jermyn had formerly done, the disposal of the King's private funds. Mr. Long, the Ex-Secretary, was therefore brought forward to hash up this charge, on the evidence of one Massonet, or rather his hearsay evidence from a maid-servant in London, who assured him that she had seen Sir Edward go into Cromwell's chamber at White-

moneyes is a just grounde for demaunde of allowaunce upon accounte. If you are at Ducy, wish me with you, as I do heartily. I write to the Governour the way he derected, and must be informed when he returnes to his dominion.

I hope you thinke it strange to heare that I have bene in Englande, and have had private conference with Crumwell, and [that you] are not sorry that my enemyes can frame no wiser calumny against me: Pr: Rupert is not yet arruyed, nor is ther any newes of the sacke: I shall be gladd to see Sr Ge: and his lady heare. Though my L^d Chamberlyne* and I lyue ciuilly together, and I can menc'on you to him, yett it is fitt you write a congratulatory letter

hall: but the King laughed at it, and was, in fact, himself a competent witness to prove an alibi. Vide Lord Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 402. When King Charles I. appointed a Council for the Prince of Wales in 1644, Mr. Long was their Secretary. After this he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the Earl of Essex, on which he went into France, and made great complaint to the Queen [Henrietta]. He was Secretary to Charles II. in his exile, was created a Baronet shortly after the Restoration, was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor. He was suspected of being a Papist, and a legacy in his will strongly confirms the suspicion. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. II. p. 606.

* This was Lord Percy, to whom the office had been granted in lieu of that of Master of the Horse, to which he had some claim, but which had been reserved by the King for Prince Rupert, who afterwards threw it up in a manner the most ungracious. The whole affair, as recorded in Lord Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 411, is illustrative of several of these epistles.

to him, which if you thinke fitt, I will deliver. God send you a merry Christmasse. I am,

Sr,

your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW: HYDE.

Paris this 27 of Decemb. (1653.)

SIR EDWARD HYDE to SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

Yours of the 30. of January came not to my hands till within these 2 dayes; and you haue before this tyme I conceaue receaued some of myne since that date, which have informed you how much wee have bene all deceaued in the imaginac'on of the breach of the treaty betweene the Dutch and the Rebels. It is now looked upon as concluded in a peace, and though the other Prouinces are not yett reconciled to the condic'ons, wee have very fainte hopes, that ther opposic'ons will be able longe to deferr what the Province of Hollande so importunately and vehemently pursues: and I do belieue that this Crowne will labour all they can (and I thinke with successe) to gett it selfe into the allyance,* for the facilitatinge wherof I suppose they wish

* So certain were the politicians of that time of a treaty between the French King and the Protector, that in a letter from Paris, 20th January, N. S. in the public papers, it was expressly stated, "Here is much talk, as if the Peace were concluded between France and England." It did not take place so rapidly, however; for, notwithstanding Mazarine's politeness to Cromwell, the sturdy *independent* spirit of the latter refused to amalgamate as the former wished. In writing to Cromwell, about this period, Mazarine concluded with,

our Master gone from hence, and wee shall gratify them in it, the Kinge resoluinge to goe as soone as he can gett away: you shall do well to hasten all accounts with your Capt^s as soone as may be, least they grow lesse respectfull of the Kings authority, and what they owe to him, when they finde that they are like to finde little protection heare. I am in greate payne, therefore you must excuse me, that I say no more, but that I am,

Sr,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

Par: this 17. of Feb. 1654.

Sir RICHARD BROWNE to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

Captain W^m Arundell the bearer hearoff being dispatched* by Col^l O'Sulleuan Beirne to giue his Mat^y a particular account of his proceedinges hitherto, and to receiue our royall and gracious Maister's farther directions and orders for the future, in case he may be soe happy as (in the present conjuncture) to be found any way vsefull & serviceable to his owne Souueraigne, in whose just

“Votre tres humble serviteur,” which obtained nothing more from Oliver than “Your affectionate friend to do you service;” added to which, he expected from the French King the address of “mon Frere!” Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 227.

* There are no historical records of the specific events in Irish affairs to which this letter alludes; the letter therefore itself becomes matter of history, and forms a link in the chronological chain of that period.

quarrell he much rather chuseth accordinge to duty and alleageance to loose his life as he hath allready donne his estate and fortune, than to drawe his sword in the service of any forraigne Potentate: I am desired to giue your Hon^r this summary account of what hath beene here transacted since his arriuall in these partes some few weekes since, with diuers persons of quality, leading men of the severall cheife provinces of Irland,* about 30 barrills of powder and some other armes; for transportation of which whole equipage into the south-west part of Munster, O'Sullevans country, there to make an impression, Mr Holder and myselfe had here prevailed with Mr Griffin, Captain Smyth,† and Captain Dillon, (whose readinesse to serue his Mat^y on this occasion hath beene very laudable, and ought soe to be represented unto his Mat^y as nott unworthy of his particular taking notice thereof) who in their three fregats had undertaken to passe them ouer & by Gods goodnesse to haue giuen a happy beginning to this generous and loyall enterprize: offering further in case they could at ther landinge gett possession of any fortifiable place, fitt and considerable, to furnish them with 2 or 3 peeces of canon out of each vessel: and to afford them what other assistance might lye in their power. But just as they

* The hopes of the Royal party, and the fears of the Cromwellians, at this moment, seem to have been equally great. A "Mercurius Politicus," date 22d February, says, "The Irish are much troubled to hear of the dissolution of the late Parliament, in whom they had great hopes, but, blessed be God! their hopes are prevented."

† How very trifling this naval force was may be estimated from the fact that Captain Smith's vessel only mounted eight guns; whilst another, commanded by Meldrum, carried two!

were ready to sett sayle, comes the certain advice that Mortagh O'Brian (to whom O'Sullivan chiefly intended to joyne himself, and whose party was it seemes the principall foundation of his hopes) had layd downe armes; by which unexpected newes, this soe probable dessigne auertinge for the present, O'Sullivan hath neuer the lesse thought fitt to aduventure a kindsman of his owne name, an experienced soldier, with some few others, and some powder, to goe in Captain Dillon's fregat, *tanquam explorator*, at whose returne hee hopes within 2. or 3. weekes to be able to giue a full account of the state of affaires in that kingdome, and what likelihood there may bee of attemptinge any thinge there for his Maties service and aduantage, which failinge, this noble person and his company are ready to transport themselves into Schottland, or what other part of his Maties dominions may be thought expedient.

Brest 30 Aprill 1654.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,*

The last weeke I receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, & by this post your other of the 1 of this moneth, to both which I shall neede reply no more, then to assure you that what I wrote to you was not out of the least un-

* Between this and the preceding letter there is an hiatus of twelve months; during which period the King and his friends, having left Paris in June 1654, had been resident in Flanders and Germany. The inquisitive reader will find a very remarkable anecdote connected with that event in Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 413, and another at page 422.

kinde purpose towards you, or doubte of your punctuality in accounte, or opinion that you had receaved so much as people give out (yett, as you say the Duke of Yorke's officers can make a shrew computac'on, and are not very nice of publishing what they conceive may aduance his Matys service): but I was willinge to be ready to answer any questions the Kinge himselfe might be induced to aske; and the truth is his necessityes are so greate, and so like to encrease, that all wayes must be thought on to draw supply to him, and therefore make what you can ready, and I had rather you should prevent him by sendinge Bills before he expectes them, then that I should be required to call upon you: if you procure Bills upon any honest able marchant at Antwerpe, payable to Patrick Garlande,* or his order, and send them to me, I can easily draw it from thence to Cullen, or to any place wher the Kinge will neede it. I can make no other conclusyon by the discourses of peace or warr betweene Cromwell and that Crowne, but that the Cardinall† will do all that is in his power to prevent a warr, which very many believe he will not be able longe to doe, and the Spanyard is very much abused, if he be not sure of a firme coniunction with him. I doubte the tyme of our deliverance is not so neere at hande, as was expected. God will send it at last: you may be very confident that I will never cease to be,

Sr,

Your very affectionate Servt,

Br: 22: Apr: (1655).

EDW. HYDE.

* Sir Patrick Garland, who was long in confidence with Sir Edward Hyde.

† Mazarine was certainly a personal admirer of Cromwell, and therefore the more likely to be averse to a war between France and England.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue receaved yours of the 10. of the last moneth, and shewed it to the Kinge, who hath sent derection to Sr Geo. Ratcliffe * to returne the 2000^{li.} to him as soone as he receaves it, and I assure you it will come very seasonably hither, wher ther is as much pouerty as you haue knowe

* Ratcliffe had once been thought of by Charles the First as Governour to the Duke of York, in his infancy, instead of Lord Byron. He was a Privy Counsellor, and resided at Oxford during the siege, previous to which the Queen had desired him either to bring the Duke to her at Paris, or to carry him to Ireland; but this Radcliffe refused, on the plea that he dared not to convey any of the King's sons out of the kingdom without an express order from his Majesty. The writer of the Life of James the Second, evidently written under that Monarch's inspection, speaking of this affair, says, "which nicety, or I may rather call it indiscretion of his, might have cost his Highness dear, as being the occasion of his being put into the Rebels' hands." When the Duke of York was taken prisoner at Oxford by the Parliamentary army, Fairfax ordered Ratcliffe to continue with him, until the pleasure of the Parliament should be known, and he was only discharged from his attendance by the Earl of Northumberland being appointed Parliamentary Governor to the Duke. In consequence of this early acquaintance, Ratcliffe retained much influence over his Royal Highness, to the great dislike of the Queen, and also in opposition to Lord Byron. He was at Jersey with Charles, and afterwards joined him in Flanders. He was also very active in securing the Duke's interest, when it was reported that the King was dead in Scotland, three years before this period. Vide Clarendon's Life, p. 124.

at Paris. I doubt Mr. Crumwell hath putt a periodd to your receipts, but it is not impossible that Dunkirke* and Ostende may prooue as hospitable to our shippinge as Brest hath bene, for they say, upon closinge with ff France, the Rebels will have a briske warr with the Spanyard, and looke euery day to heare that they are possessed of some considerable place in the Indyes, which is at last believed at Bruxells; wher they finde how they haue beene fooled. I am newly returned hither, hauinge beene kept in my way hither at the Hague by a greate sicknesse, for above a moneth, but God be thanked I am now well recovered, beyonde the hope of many of my frends, and contrary to the wishes of those who are not so: I hope I may live to see better dayes: I haue not heard from George Carterett these very many monthes, though I am sure he hath many letters of myne upon his handes, so that you may tell him, I thinke he despayres, and hath given me ouer: God send us a good meetinge, wher you shall receaue all seruice from

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Coll: this 8 of June (1655).

Sr Ri: Brownc.

* Many prizes had already been carried into Dunkirk by the Jersey privateers; and in 1650 the Duke of York had been supported solely by the tenths which the captors paid him. See further a letter on this subject to the Spanish minister, State Papers, vol. III. p. 276.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

Though it be now many moneths since I heard from you, I had not at this tyme troubled you, if by letters which I received the last weeke, I had not cause to believe that one which I writt above a moneth since to you, is miscarryed: I then told you how seasonable your 200 pistolls would come to the Kinge, who hath bene and is still in straight enough, since which tyme it is receaued, but not till within these 3 dayes, it being returned very unskilfully to be payd at Amsterdam upon double usance.

I told you likewise in that, that his Maty would haue you giue a deputac'on to Mons^r Marces* to collecte and receaue the dutyes dew to him in 2 or 3 of the lesser and more obscure portes in Britanny, untill he should haue receaued the summ of 200 pistolls which are owinge to him, and he was well content to receaue them this way: I thought it more proper that the deputac'on should be given by you, then an immediate grante of it from his Maty to him, therefore I pray (if my former letter miscarryed) lett him know that you haue receaued such derections, and lett him haue a proper instrument accordingly. I doubtte it will be very longe before he will out of those portes receaue that summ, but the request is the more modest, and could not well be denied, his Maty lookinge upon the man as one who hath done him many services. You can exspecte little newes from us, who have only courage enough to looke for better tyme; the apprehensions the whole Empyre hath that it

* Vide p. 329.

shall not longe inioy ther peace, and the terrour the Kinge of Sweade* gives them by his inroade into Polande, wher he carryes all before him, proove of no small præiudice to our master, who is therby much disappointed of the mony he was promised from those Princes, so that the truth is wee are no richer then you haue knowen us at Paris: yett trust me wee are farr from despayre, and do promise our selves with reason enough, that wee shall shortly have good frendes, and see a good turne in our fortune, especially if the newes with strange confidence repeated at present heare be true, of Cromwells death: which I doubtte is not upon ground enough. The Kinge and his sister are in a private at ffrankeforte, † from whence wee expecte them in 4 or 5 dayes: the Qu: of Sweden is this very minute passinge through the towne, wher shee stayes not, but lodges this night at Bone, the house of the Elector of Cullen [Cologne].

If you are very rich, and can lend me 20. or 30. pistolls, or such a summ, and returne it to honest Church,

* Gustavus, the successor of Christina, whose disputes with the King of Poland were a source of great confusion and disturbance to Germany.

† This journey to Frankfort is noticed in the preceding part of the Collection; it also excited some attention both in England and upon the Continent: for, in a paper of the day, a letter from Paris observes, after alluding to the newly-signed treaty with Cromwell, "In the mean time, it seems, the Princess Royall of Orange is expected here in January, she intending to bestow a visit upon the little Queen, her mother, and bring her all news from Frankfort fair; what further end there may be in the voyage is not known."

he will transmitt it to me, and it will come very seasonably to supply,

Sr,

Your very affectionate humble serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Cullen this 28 of Sept. (1655.)

Sr Ri. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I write now to you rather to lett you know that yours of the 16. of the last moneth is come to my hands, then to returne a full answer to it, which I cannot do till the next, and then I shall not fayle to do it, except by our intelligence out of ffrance I conclude that it is for the present to no purpose to do it in the way you propose; as I suppose it will not be, if the peace betweene Crumwell and ffrance be published, which I doubte it is, and then all your armado at Brest will be quickly discharged those harbours, and I heartily wish they may gett off fayrely, without any prejudice or even violence offred to them to obliege Mr. Crumwell. If this falls out to be the case, and that you see ther is no more worke to be done ther, you will not be the lesse intent, sollicitous, and dextrous, to obliege the seamen to continue ther affection to his Mat^{ys} service, and to continue ther commissyons, since ther is no greate doubte wee shall prepare a better recepcon for them at Dunkirke and Ostende, then they have found at Brest,* and *your*

* The facts here mentioned will be of importance to the naval historian, in illustrating a period of which very little, at least with regard to the loyal part of the service, has yet been recorded.

owne particular will not be neglected: I hope to be speedily able to say more to you upon this subiecte, and to tell you that wee shall not be longe confined to Cullen, and I pray dispatch such advises to me as soone as may be, as may be necessary to be considered in that traffique wee are like to have with seamen, how wee may give them encouragements enough and yett retayne a competency for our Masters supporte.

I haue not time to add more, having very much to doe, upon those greate alterac'ons which fall out, which truly I believe will carry us all wher wee desyre to be: * God send it, and you shall then have cause to believe me to be,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

Cull: this 9 of November (1655).

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

Since my last to you, which was of the 9. of thie moneth, I have receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, and yesterday another of the 8^{ber}. which it may be ought to be of this moneth: you will not wonder that I make no hast in sendinge these dispatches which concerne your Admiralty, which no doubt is now at an end by virtue of this

* These anticipations, though finally correct, were too premature by five years!

peace, so that if you parte fayre, and they suffer all the vessells to get out of ther portes, it is as much as I looke for: and if ther had been any more to be done ther, I should not haue moued the Kinge for such a letter to the Duke of York as you advise, till wee had knowne his Highn^s pleasure, ffor for the Kinge to declare that he would abate as much of his fifteenths as the Duke would abate of his tenths, before wee know that he thinkes fitt to abate any thinge, were to putt him upon some disaduantage, and ther wante not those who would be gladd upon any occasyon to infuse an opinion of the disrespetes of many heare towards his Highn^s. Therefore you should adiust all those thinges with his ministers, before any thinge be moued to come from hence: But at present all that designe is at an end, and wee must consider what conclusyons wee are to make to aduance our marityme affayres in fflanders, wher I hope wee shall finde all encouragement. Whateuer concessyons are to be granted, they must be to all alike, and not with distinction betweene rich and poore, which will interrupt all payment of dewes. I writt to you to send us any advise that upon your obseruance of those people, you thinke necessary to be obserued.

That which wee are sollicitous for is, to gett into fflanders,* which I hope wee shall do shortly, and not be without such a benefitt from this warr betweene Spayne and Cromwell, that may giue our frends new courage. I shall

* The necessity of this step is evident, when we reflect that the second article of the new treaty between Cromwell and the French Court provided against any aid to the *enemies* of either; and also "that neither of the Confederates shall harbor, or permit their people to harbor, any *pirates* or *robbers*"—terms lavishly applied to Charles's cruizers.

add no more, but that I wish you your heartes desyre, and shall always be ready to serue you, as,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Cull: this 23. of Nouemb: (1655).

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

The Kinge is so desyrous to pay Mounr de Marces some parte of the debt that is dew to him,† that understandinge that ther is dew to his Maty frome a frende of his the sayd Mo^r de Marces nine hundred livres, and from another two hundred livres, both which summes are payable to you from them for the fifteenths dew to his Maty: since the former order given on his behalfe hath prooued ineffectuall to him, his Matys pleasure is that you authorize him to receaue the sayd two summes of 900. & 200^{lis} and that you appointe the sayd persons to pay the same to him. I shall neede to add no more, but that you may see, the Kinge hoth a very good opinion of Mo^r de Marces, and a sense of some seruice he hath done him, otherwise you

* See p. 324. This extraordinary anxiety on the part of Charles to pay his debts is deserving of remark, and excites some curiosity to ascertain its particular cause. If he had displayed the same anxiety on other occasions, his best friends would have had less reason to complain of him, and Lord Rochester's well-known *living* epitaph would have been deprived of its point!

would not haue receaued this commande from him, by the hande of,

Sr,

Your very affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Coll. this 15. of ffebb. 1656.

Cullen this 29. of ffebr: (1656).

Sr,

I haue yours of the 31. of January which came not to my handes till the last weeke, and I forbore to answer it till now, supposinge you would not be sooner come to Paris. ffor your men of warr, I know not what to say, they are so fantastick and humorous, that till wee can exercise such a iurisdiction ouer them as to compell them to keepe good order, I care not how little we haue to do with them. In Spayne I heare they haue sent up an agent to Madrid, to offer to engage in that Kings seruice, and Capt. Martin at Dunkirke hath desyred a commissyon from that Admiralty: * But I doubt not, when the Kinge himselfe shall be in fflanders, which I hope will be very speedily, and that by the next post I may send you newes to that purpose: those ffrygates which are manned with his owne subiects, will choose to come into his Matys seruice, & take commissyons from him, and for the rest lett them do as they see cause: you shall do well to encourage Capt: Smith †

* The whole of these facts deserve the notice of the naval historian, being totally unrecorded.

† Captain Smith was taken prisoner about a year afterwards, as related in the weekly journals. "Letters come from Ply-

and Capt: Beart to gett up as many seamen English as they can, and to come to Dunkirke or Ostende, wher they will be wellcome.

For your owne condicon, I am very sorry it is no better, yett in one respecte I did not thinke it so good, for I neuer imagined your receipte would have inabled you vpon the assignements the Kinge had given you to haue discharged all your debts at Paris, and thought it would haue precued well if you were inabled to pay those which were most crying and importunate, which God knowes the poore Resident at Bruxells is not able to doe, but is euery day in daunger of an affronte. I am sure you doe not belieue I envy you any aduantage you haue reaped: I wish it greater with all my heart, and shall alwayes contribute towards it with all my credit; but trust me I am often putt to answers & replies that I know not how to go through with, when they who know the Duke of Yorke's receipts as Admirall, confidently averr that the King's haue not bene so little as 5000 pistolls, and enquire how much hath bene payd to his vse. Therefore as soone as you can, send me such an accounte (which neede not be uoluminous) as I may vpon occasyon satisfy his Maty in that affayre, that I may the more confidently propose any thinge on your behalfe, which I shall doe very heartily as,

Sr, Your most affectionate servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Sir Ri. Browne.

mouth which give an account of a good prize newly taken, and brought in thither by the Sapphire frigate. It bears the name of a Brest man-of-warr, new built, of 30 guns. He was met with about the Land's End, and had aboard two captains, the one named Meldrum, a famous pirate; the other named Smith, who sailed by virtue of a commission from Charles Stuart."

SIR RICHARD BROWNE to the CHANCELLOR of the
EXCHEQUER.

Right Hon^{ble},

I returned hither on Sunday night; and Munday morning Mr Locker* from Mr Crumwel came into this towne, and had yesterday eueninge publick solemme audience of K. Q. and Card^l. Hee hath bought a coach and talks of hyreinge a house, and though he thus insinuates himselfe as Envoye, yett it is belieued hee will within few weekes produce a latent Commission, and take vpon him the title of Ambass^r: Monsieur le Comte de Briene† sayd thus much to 668 : 192 : 95 ; whom I was faine to visit *en particulier* by reason of some thinges I left in his hands. *Yf this should cause any alteration in his Maties intentions of continuinge a publike Minister here* (as perhaps much may be sayd *pro* and *con*), I beseech your Hon^r to giue me timely notice: that yf I remoue, I may dismiss my house and forbear to make a new household: and I pray your Hon^r to giue mee instructions how to carray myselfe towards 668 : 192 : 95 : whether I shall uisit him in quality of his Maties Minister or not? The French Court will some time the next weeke remove towards the Frontier.

Paris 19th May 1656.

I haue as yett beene onely once at our Court, wher by

* Lockhart soon became a great favourite with Mazarine. He did remain at Paris, and was very active there in 1659. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 547.

† The French Secretary of State.

misfortune I could nott kisse ye hands of your faire daughter.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I am gladd to finde by yours of the 19. that you are returned to Paris, and cannot write at large to you upon what you propose to me in this concerning your selfe, and in some former, till wee are returned to Bruges, which I conceave may be by the end of the next weeke: nothing being possible to be maturely weighed and considered in the moc'on we are in. I thinke wee shall be at Bruxells tomorrow or Munday, only priuately, to uisitt Don-Juan,* nothings being to be publiquely declared on our behalfe till the returne of the Enuoy fro' Spayne, but wee haue no cause but to hope very well.

Ther can be no reason for you to discontinue your old frendshipp and neighborwoode with 668 : 192 : 95 : who truly I believe wishes us uery well, and can do no other then he does: when you see him, remember my service to him, and tell him I doubt not but I shall yett lyue to meete him at Whitehall. I shall now heare from you euery weeke, and shall not neede to put you in minde not to

* Don John of Austria; formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, and recently appointed Governor of Flanders. Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, vol. III. p. 478, mentions some anecdotes respecting him and the Earl of Bristol, his belief in astrology, &c.

omitt to write constantly to Mr Secretary:* I shall be gladd to know how your friends do in Englande, who I doubt not continue ther kindnesse to you: If nothings be done by the ffrench Courte to discountenance you, you will not putt off your house, till the Kinge giues you full order. I pray informe your selfe who of either Nac'on performe most respects to Mr Lockyer. I wish you all happinesse, & am uery heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Antwerpe this 26: May (1656).

The letter which included the examinac'ons of the Spy † is not yett arriued heare, so that wee haue a very obscure informac'on of that affayre, nor can I imagyne what seruice the rogue (whome I know well) could do in these partes, to deserve the charge he hath beene to them. I heare the Life of Cardinall Richelieu is newly come out, or in the presse, I wish you could send it to me.‡

* Sir Edward Nicholas.

† P. 337.

‡ The Cardinal seems to have been considered, by some folks at that period, as a conjurer. An English newspaper of that date, called the "French Intelligencer," says "There hath been lately a prophesie found in the Priory of Cardinal Richelieu at Paris, written by his own hand, wherein he foretells the wofull calamities of the family of Stuarts, descending from *the Lyon*, that is, King James, for so he was called, by reason that he brought the rampant Lyon figured upon his breast, in the world with him. He likewise predicts three changes of Government, and domestique divisions," &c.

Sir RICHARD BROWNE to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^{ble},

I did nott vtill now know of your Hon^{rs} beinge in personall attendance on his Ma^{ty}. Thts ignorance of mine nott onely depriued me the contentment of beinge assured that I had soe worthy a friend soe neere my Royal Maister, butt also made me guilty of an omission of nott sooner giuing notice accordinge to my duty of my returne unto this my former station: for which I humbly crave your Hon^{rs} pardon.*

The French Court parted hence a weeke since, and remains yett at Compeigne. Yesterday came newes that the Marl: de Turenc had defeated 4 Regiments of horse, and taken a small place: yf true, a good beginninge of this Campaigne.

Mr Locker, Mr Crumwells Envoye, followes the Court: before his goinge hence he declared to a person of quality, that he had by him, and would ere long produce, a Commission to be Ambassador; notwithstandinge that I haue publiquely (since my returne hither) appeared in the French Court in presence both of this K. & Queene, and twice beene with the Count of Brienne, yett I find nothinge at all of any the least intimation to retire: † And the other day in conference with my Lord Jermyn, his opinion was that this State would permitt me to remaine here as long

* Though without signature or address, it is evident that this letter is from Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

† This detail sufficiently marks the temporizing policy which actuated the French Court, still unwilling openly to acknowledge Cromwell to the extent of his wishes, yet fearful to offend him by the abrupt dismissal of his Envoy.

as his Mat^y thought good: soe that I expect to heare what his Mat^{ies} pleasure will bee, in this particular: forbearinge in the meane time to engage for the continuance of my house, or to make a new family: humbly intreating your Hon^r, that yf his Mat^y thinke fitt to continue mee here, you will please to move for a settlement of my subsistence uppon some good and well assured funds, without which I shall soone lapse into a very sad condition.

In the conuersation I have had abroad in my trauail, as well as here in Paris since my returne had with the French Protestants, I find them generally much inuolved in Cromwells interests, he hauinge dexterously insinuated into their belief that he will maintaine them in the enjoyment of ther preuiledges: a more manifest demonstration of their good inclinations to him may also doubtlesse bee, their hauinge since Lockers arriuall effaced the name of *Kinge* out of the inscription of the Seate for the English Ambassadors at Charanton, and left only "*pour les Ambassade^{rs} de la Grand Bretagne.*"

*Olim tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Epigraphen.*

And in their discourse uppon all occasions, they fervently declare their great good wishes of the prosperity of the army of the Kinge of Sweden as abettinge uppon that hand in order to the ruine of Antichrist, vnder that Kinge and Cromwells banners.*

* Of all this private history of political chicanery the French Court must have been well aware. It may indeed be considered as a sufficient reason for the middle course which they held between the cause of Charles and the demands of Cromwell. The Protestants certainly had no reason to wish well to the cause of Charles.

I humbly beseech your Hon^r to direct mee how I shall henceforwards addresse my letters unto you

Soe praying for &c.

Paris 2nd June 1656.

SIR EDWARD HYDE to SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I had not tyme the last weeke to acknowledge yours of the 23. (whiche I hope you excuse) and I have since receaued your other of the 30. in answer to both which I can say no more, then that you shall be sure of all the seruice I can do you upon all oportunities, and I hope any improvement of our fortune will administer these oportunities:—you shall doe well seasonably and naturally to pursue that discourse to Ld. Jermin concerninge your stay ther, and draw an advise from him hither for your reuocac'on, and then wee shall know what is next to be done. All the papers concerninge Martin wee have, and would be gladd to know what is become of the fellow, and whether he be yett hanged, and what goodly confessyon he made in that season.*—God send us once a good turne, w^{ch} it may be may not be farr off: and then wee shall have more frends and I hope lesse neede of them. I perceave your spiritts in Paris are not so composed, but that ill accidents may cause some disorders amongst you, and those people do belieue that your designe before Valenciennes may be frustrated; it is a greate stake, and these as much concerned to preserve and you to possesse it. Wee expecte

* Vide p. 334.

howrely newes of some action before it: I have beene misinformed if Cardinal Richelieu's life be not in the presse.—

I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Servt,

E. H.

Bruges this 7 of July (1656).

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHALD BROWNE.

Sr Bruges this 11. of Aug. (1656.)

It is uery true, I haue besydes your last of the 4: of this moneth, your other of the 21. and 28. of the last upon my hands, the subiecte of both which beinge such, as I could not discourse upon, before my L^d of Bristolls arriual,* to whom you referred me, I forbore to say any thinge till I could speake to the purpose, and he arrived not till Sunday last: and you will easily believe that in this little tyme wee have not bene able to conferr of halfe the matters of importance which are necessary for present consultac'on: yett wee have spoken of your businesse, wherein I perceiue he is farr from hauinge any positive opinion, nor have either

* On a reference to the history and official documents of those times, this letter evidently relates to the hopes and also the plans of the Royal partizans, who were now carrying on a rapid intercourse with their friends in England, and augured much good from the distrust manifested by Cromwell in regard to his own personal security.

Lord Bristol, soon after this, was left as the King's Agent at Brussels, whilst the King and his Court went to Bruges, &c. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 308, 10.

of us yett spoken with the Kinge of it : Wee haue many thinges under debate, which must be præliminary to any determinac'on in that pointe, therefore you must haue a little patience, and be confident if you are designed to continue that employment, prouisyon must be made for your reasonable supporte, and it cannot be most [more] secure then upon that pension, but whether you are to be continued ther I cannot yett tell; shortly wee may. I do not finde that the Queene or my L^d Jermin haue writt or sent any opinion upon it: I am of your opinion in the matter of Mon^r Lyon, nor can I discover the least footestepps of a treaty betweene the 2 Crownes, nor is Madrid a place of that secrecy, but the Venetian Ambassadour in that Courte would discover it. I pray informe your selfe as particularly as you can of Mo^r Orleanes, whose visitt in this season is not merely upon complement. It is not possible to give such an accounte of our affayres heare, as may satisfy the curiosity of our frends, since if what is intended be not kept secrett, wee shall have little frutes of it: trust me, so farr, as to be confident, our condic'on is very hopefull, and I am as confident that I shall lyue to see you at Whitehall, and serve you ther as,

Sr,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Servt,

EDW: HYDE.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr

Hauinge replied as particularly as I can in my last to what concernes your owne particular, I should not at this

tyme (when I have very much to do) acknowledge yours of the 11. were it not to desyre your fauour in transmittinge the inclosed. I receaved a letter from Mr. Bourdon, whom I well knew at my beinge at St Sebastians, and I am gladd that ther is such a distinction made ther, for he writes me worde, that since the Edicte for the turninge out of towne all the English, Irish, and Scotts, ther is a seconde order, that excepts all those that can make it evident that they are good subiectes to his Maty, and therefore he hath desyred such a certificate, havinge as he sayes hitherto preserved himselfe by producinge some letters which I writt to him at my beinge at Madrid: I have in the inclosed sent him what I conceave may do him good, and have derected it as he aduised, to Bourdeaux.*

We expecte the Duke of Yorke here very speedily, and then wee shall come the sooner to a resolution in that pointe which concernes you. I pray lett us know more of Don Michel de Castile, and of Mr. Locker: I would be gladd you would send me (if you have it by you) the life of the Connestable De Desguynes, which they say is well written. I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate hu^{ble} Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Bruges this 18: of Aug: (1656.)

* This transaction seems to have had reference to the expected war between Spain and the English Commonwealth.

SIR EDWARD HYDE to SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,*

Bruges this 25. of Aug. (1656.)

I have yours of the 18. and as you have greate reason in this perplexed and unsteady condic'on wee are all in, to desyre to know as soone as may be what your owne lott will be, so, you must not wonder that your frends cannot give you so speedy satisfaction in it, as they wish; wee shall shortly I hope see the Duke of Yorke heare, and then that matter will be most properly and seasonably consulted; besydes, the case is now very different from what it was understoode to be, when you returned to Paris, for the Romance of Don Miguell will prove authentique History, and it may be Mr. Lockier may retyre with lesse glory then he entred, and Sr Ri: Browne stay ther with more respecte: ther is one thinge no doubtte you may depend upon, which is, if you are continued ther, some fitt assignac'on will be made for your supporte, and if you are called away, no doubtte your Master will thinke of some other prouisyon and imployment for you. Our businesse does not goe so ill, but that wee may reasonably hope that wee shall all

* The hopes of the Royal partizans now revived rapidly, as is evident from the whole tenor of this letter. The reader who feels an interest in the hopes thus expressed, will be very much gratified by referring to Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. pp. 302, 6, for various particulars, especially by the gentle mode (p. 302) adopted by Sir Edward to urge the King to a punctual payment of his debts on the receipt of some cash for himself and the Duke of York. This anxiety on the part of Sir Edward, particularly in regard to the debts at Cologne, may be accounted for by the detail of his own distressed state in that City. Vide same vol. p. 290.

have somewhat to doe. The Declarac'on of the freedome of the Portes is now published accordinge to our heartes desyre, and many other evidences given us, of a full affection from Spayne, and if they do not do all for us that wee desyre, it is only because they are not able: nor are they so weake, and unable to helpe us, nor Mr. Cru'well at so much ease or so confident of his new parliamt that wee have reason to dispayre of better dayes, or that we may not *eate cherryes at Deptforde* agayne.

I returned you by the last post an answer to what was desyred from St Sebastians, which I præsume you received and have sent forward. I do belieue ther will be occasyon for me the beginninge of the next weeke to repayre to Bruxells and Antwerpe, and therefore if you please lett your letters be putt under couer to Sr H. De Vic, or Mr. John Shaw at Antwerpe: Sr H. De Vic complaynes he knew not of your returne to Paris, till some letters from you came into his handes to be sent to a 3^d. person. Corresponding with each other may be usefull to you both. I am

Sr,

your most affectionate Servt,

E. H.

SIR EDWARD HYDE to SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I haue yours of the 8. upon my hands, and this last nyght at my commiuge I founde your other of the 22. and how longe I shall stay heare I knew not, my businesse dependinge upon the pleasure of others, who will mooue faster or slower as they haue a minde to it, and the ill newes of the losse of Valenza, and the march you haue putt this army to

make, by your attempt upon la Chappelle,* makes the season lesse fitt for those kinde of negociac'ons, then I belieue otherwise it would haue proved; howeuer I hope sometye the next weeke to be agayne at Bruges, and then after the Kinge hath conferred with the Duke of Yorke, I conceaue some resolu'ons will be taken concerninge your owne particular, and it may be the Cardinall † will finde wee can be as angry as hee, and with more reason: I will enquire of the letter you say was writt to the Jesuite, and I pray haue as stricte an eye upon the Knight, and informe your selfe of him, as you can: and likewise of the moc'ons of the Cardinall de Retz ‡ which is an intrieue I do not understande: you must excuse me for writinge so impertinently at this tyme, when the truth is, I haue so much to doe, that I hardly gett this tyme to write at all: and I pray lett me heare from you of any thinge you thinke fitt to

* Alluding to the events of the Low Country wars, and the campaign in Italy. The Valenza here mentioned is in the Milanese, and was taken, at this period, by the Duke of Modena and the Duke of Mercœur.

† Mazarine.

‡ De Retz had always been extremely active during the contest between the King and Princes. He was the bitter enemy of Mazarine, and also of Condé, playing a double part, and ruling the Duke of Orleans in all things. De Retz also, before this period, had been joined in an accusation brought forward against King Charles, as a mere creature of Cardinal Mazarine. The "Mercurius Politicus" of July 1, 1652, says: "In the mean time the Cardinal, by his creatures, the pretended King of Scotland, the Cardinal Retz, Madame Chevreuse, Monsieur le Chasteauneuf, and Montagu, have plaid their game so well that they have drawn the Duke of Lorraine to declare for the King, and to forsake the cause of the Princes."

imparte, I mean when I am fro' Bruges, for whilst I am ther, your letters to the good Secretary will serue us both : God send us good newes fro' England, which is expected by

Sr,

Your very affectionate Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Antwerpe this 29: Sept: (1656.)

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I had not tyme the last post to acknowledge yours of the 29. of the last moneth, and I haue since, by your to reasonable guesse of the slownesse of all dispatches heare, receaued your other by the last post without a date, which was the only one I receaued fro' Paris, all my other frends conceauinge as they had reason that I would be at Bruges, and therby they are all now without any letter fro' me. The truth is, my stay heare hath beene beyonde all possible expectac'on, and hath so tyred my patience, that though this day be not like to giue so good an ende to my businesse as I desyre, yett I resoluē (God willing) to be gone to morrow towards the Kinge, from whom I haue been now aboute a fortnight: Wee are willing to belieue that these seasonable raynes will dispose both armyes to enter into ther winter quarters, and then wee shall do our businesse the better: Ther is a discourse of the Marq: of H. . . . court goinge this winter into Spayne, which meethinkes yett he should not haue leaue to doe: you menc'n your neighbour the Venetian Ambassadour, but you neuer speake of your next neighbour my old friend the Holl: Ambassadour,*

* Mynheer Borell.

I would gladly know what he thinkes of these alterac'ons, and whether his old affections continue to us: I haue nothinge to add but hearty wishes of your happinesse fro'

Sr,

Your most affectionate Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Antwerpe this 13. of Octob: (1656.)

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

Sr,

I must give you many thanks for your fauour of the 25. And the greate ciuillity you expresse to me, which I assure you you will finde returned to you, by all the seruices I can doe: it is indeede to melancholique a tyme, to feele any praferment* with that *gusto* that it hath vsed to carry with it, and I wish that considerac'on would abate somewhat of the enuy that will attende it, but wee must submitt to the burthen and uneasinesse of the last, without any refreshment from the former: I hope the tyme is not far of, that

* The preferment here alluded to was his own appointment as Lord High Chancellor of England, shortly after the Great Seal had been surrendered by the Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert. A curious anecdote respecting this latter circumstance may be found in Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 411; and another in the subsequent page. It was not very long after this that the Duke of York was privately married to the Chancellor's daughter. A serious quarrel had for some time existed between Charles and the Duke, and a separation between them had actually taken place whilst the former, during great part of 1657, resided at Bruges.

God Almighty will give some change to the sadd condic'on of our poore Master, and then wee his seruants shall haue abundant matter to reioyce in, be our condic'on what it will: myne, trust me, will be much the more pleasant to me, if it shall giue me any power to lett you see how heartily I am,

Sr,
Your most affectionate Servt,

EDW. HYDE.

Bru: this 5. of ffeb: 1658.

Sir Ri. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

[This Letter only bears the signature and postscript of Lord Clarendon.]

Sr,

I doe very seldome trouble you with my letters, knowing very well that the good Secretary* informes you of all things that passe here: But I write now vpon a particular occasion, in which his Majesties honour is concerned: and iustice and charitie obliges vs to doe all wee can: and though you are not in your publique capacity, and soe cannot move any thing in the Kings name, I doe beseech you for charities sake, to take a little paynes to informe your selfe and therevpon to apply your selfe to my Lord Jermyn, or Mr. Montague† on the poore mans behalfe: and I can-

* Sir Edward Nicholas.

† After a diligent research, it has been found impossible to ascertain the individual to whom this letter alludes. Lord Jermyn and the Abbé Montague were at this time in active confidence with the Queen at Paris, as appears from a letter of the Marquis of Ormond to the Chancellor, written in 1659. State Papers, vol. III. p. 547.

not but presume but they will so farre interpose, and vse their credit, that there may be no further proceeding vpon so foul an arrest, but y^t the man may be sett at liberty; and if it be possible, with some reparation. You cannot but remember that scandallous arrest of the Parliament of Rennes, whilst the King was at Paris, of which the Court being informed was so ashamed, that they gaue present order in it, which I thought had beene so effectually, that there would have beene no record left of it: nor did I since heare any thing of it, till within those last fourteen dayes Mr. Crowther told mee that Mr. Bullen was in prison vpon the same arrest. I presume y^e Duke of Yorke hath, vpon the addresses about that time made to him, recommended it to some sollicitation; howeuer the enclosed letter com'ing to my hands within these two dayes, and the King being absent at this time from hence, I cannot but recommend the matter to you, and doe desire you upon perusal of his letter, and the processe, which will informe you of all that I can say, that you will likewise take the paynes, if it be necessary, to call vpon the Superiour of the Benedictines for the other papers, and therevpon to take such course, that such letters of evocation may bee sent, as are necessary; & that the poore man may bee sett at liberty, and out of danger of future vexation: and I hope the conjunction may not be vnfavourable towards the advancement of such acts of justice. I wish you all happiness, and am,

Sr,

your very affectionate serv^t,

Brux: 16th August 1659.

EDW. HYDE.

If Sr George Carterett be in towne, desyre him from me to do all the good offices he can in this affayre.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

WHILST AMBASSADOR AT PARIS.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS, &c.

The following Extracts from Letters written by Sir RICHARD BROWNE, whilst Ambassador at Paris, furnish some curious Particulars.

21 Oct. 1642.

Rich^d Browne, Esq; Ambass^r at Paris writes to Sr Edw^d Nicholas, Secretary of State—That by his Mat^ys late speech at . . . Shrewsbury & by other advices, he hears the possibility of a thing w^{ch} he hopes will never come to pass, that his Mat^y will be constrained to sell or engage his fairest parks or lands: that there is at Deptford certain pastures called Sayes Court, reserved in his Mat^ys hand for the special service of his houshold, for w^{ch} being so near London, there may in these intruding times, be persons ready to deale: he beseeches Sr Edw. to move his Mat^y that they may not be sold, but if (w^{ch} God defend) his Mat^y sho^d have just cause to part from them, that he wo^d let some sufficient persons (whom he shall find out) to deale for them, have the first offer, not above 260 acres; no man shall give a clearer light than he will, for they have been long in the custody of his ancestors, by whom the dwelling house thereon was built at their own charge, & it is the only seat he has, & is the place wherein he was borne.

To Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

7 Nov. 1642.

That [in cypher] doth continue his assistance to the Irish, furnishing money to buy arms, w^{ch} they send away for Ireland; that he has made reiterated complaints by his Matys express order, & in his name, with so little success that it is useless to endeavour any more. The Irish priests as well as the soldiers flock very fast into their country & pretend bishopricks and other benefices by donation from Rome. Col. Tirel is here lately come out of Portugal and hastens into Ireland. Col. Belinge (late prisoner in England) hath obtained his liberty, & is now in this town.

To the same.

9-19 Nov. 1642.

The Prince of Condé lately sent for me & told me the Counsellis of France had hitherto beene contrary to his Maty—excused and asked pardon for his complying: bad mee assure his Maty he would henceforward do all that lay in his power to serve him, that he would in confidence advertise me (and only me) of all that passeth, and (yf neede so require) hee would himselfe endeavour assistance for his Maty.

Use may be made hereoff yf cherisht & kept secrett, especially in regard the French King is not like to live longe, & the Princes of the blood will probably have their share in governm^t then yf not sooner.

To the Same.

13-23 Jan. 1642-3.

The whole numbers of the Scotch who doe allready serve
or have contracted to serve this Crowne, are,

Colonel Douglas his foot Reg ^t - - - - -	2000
Earl of Erwin his new Reg ^t of Guard consisting of 30 companies - - - - -	4500
My Lord Gray one Reg ^t of foote - - - - -	1000
My Lord Lundy one Reg ^t of foote - - - - -	1000
Col. Fullerton one Reg ^t of foote - - - - -	1000
Earl of Laudian (is sayd) shall have auncient com- pany of Gens d'Armes - - - - -	100
	<hr/>
	9600
	<hr/>

Of these, allready here

Coll. Douglas Reg ^t - - - - -	1000
The Earl of Erwins - - - - -	2000
Coll. Fullerton's - - - - -	500
	<hr/>
	3500
	<hr/>

The rest expected, butt much difficulty to find men in
Scotland.

I have seene letters lately written from a person of great
quality in Scotland bearinge the Earl of Laudian's speedy
comminge over hither with his Matys leave to treat the
renewinge of the auncient allyances betweene the Crowns
of Scotland and France; uppon which Treaty many par-
ticular interests depend, as, the reestablishinge the Mar-
quis Hamilton in the Dutchy of Chatelraut, of the Marq.
Douglas in that of Turenne, of restoringe the Captainship

of the Scottish Archers and Guardes-du-corps to one of that nation, &c. relative to which negotiations [*cypher*] and Mons^r de la Ferte Imbault pretends to have in favour of him erected a new office of Colonel de la Nation Escossoise, of the same nature and in all points of profitt and honour equall to that of the Suisses.

Mr. Chambers hath very honestly beene with mee and tells mee unlesse the Earle Laudian come (as he pretends) with his Mat^{ies} leave, and that his Mat^y doe well approve of the employment whertoo hee is dessigned, he shall not bee very forward so farre to quit his allegiance to his lawfull Sovereigne as to accept theroff.

I beseech y^r Hon^r lett me receive y^r orders how I shall carry myself in this business.

Mons^r de la Ferte Imbaull is nott only a vehement stickler for the Scotch, butt in a manner also agent for the Parliament here. I have by me the authentique copie of a letter written lately to him by a Peere* in the name of the Upper House to sollicit a businesse here. In all his discourse he rayseth their reputation to what height hee can, and depresseth his Mat^{ies} causelessly, dishonestly, and maliciously.

To the Same.

11-21 March 1642-3.

Passports to treat for a general Peace to assemble at Munster.—The Earle of Laudian with S^r T. Dishington sollicite very earnestly here for the sendinge an Ambass^r into England, to treat of an accommodation, by order as

* In this part of the original, the words, “ my lord of Holland” are scratched through with a pen.

is presumed of the Parl^t in England, and Mr. Fert Imbault is noe lesse earnest to bee the man. These three are all one and violent Parliamentarians.

[An inclosure in cypher.]

To the Same.

2-12 June 1643.

By the letters I recommended to Mr. de Gressy's safe delivery, your Hon^r will have understood in what a miserable condition I am for want of some present supply of money, my friends haveinge plainly signified unto mee that I must expect no more from them, or from my estate in England already engaged to its utmost extent.

By the same opportunity I likewise give y^r Hon^r notice of S^r Balt. Gerbiers manner of proceedinge here at his first arrival, since which he continues his frequent visits to the Queene, Princes, and Ministers, taking much upon him, and using his Maties name how hee pleases upon all occasions, not onely givinge out here, butt also writing into other parts (as I have received notice by letters from good hands) that he is sent hither by his Ma^{ty} to condole about other business of great consequence.—I shall be glad to know what y^r Hon^r thinkes of this kinde of carriage of his, and whether it bee his Maties pleasure to have a pretended Ambassad^r where he hath allready an avowed Resident.

To the Same.

3 Sept. 1643.

[*Cypher*] concerning which moneyes as I treated with 335 . 420 (who hath very much contributed to the findinge out and sending this summe) hee knowinge my case, of

himselfe offered mee to move 335 . 501 . to reserve here what part I would towards payment of my entertainment until they received his Maties order to put it into my hands, but I replied that though my necessities did much presse mee, yett I would nott presume to stopp or divert any supply whatsoever sent to his Maty. Here is a very considerable quantity of 259 . 82 . 91 . 83 . sent and sendinge from hence, the particulars wheroff are I assure myselfe well knowne to his Maty and to yr Hon^r. — prays for money & to be preserved from perishing.

To the Same.

10-20 Nov. 1643.

The Queene is in a manner wholly governed by Card^l Mazarine, who is secretly leagued with the Prince of Condé, but governed by Mons^r de Chavigny; this last beinge by this meanes though in a close way more powerfull than ever. The whole triplicitly I feare will league noe very favourable influence on England.—Mr. Croft is gone to Rouen joyntly with my L^d V. Mountague & others to treat with som merchants for furnishinge his Maty with armes & ammunition, &c.

To Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

3 Sept. 1643.

— the welcome newes of £20,000. sterling which this good Queene sends to their Maties by her Ambass^r.—They offered to put part into his hands, but he refused it, tho'

* The words "and ammunition" are struck through with a pen in the original.

his necessities were great, as he wo^d not intercept any supply sent to his Mat^y.

Much arms & ammunition sent—lord V. Mountague had 50,000 livres Tournois to purchase arms—35,000 only expended—prays the other part may be ordered for him.

To Lord DIGBY.

6 Jan. 1644.

Delivers the Kings passe for 100 barrells of powder, 12,000 waight of match, 2000 swords & 500 case of pistols to be by a merch^t put aboard his Mat^{ys} 2 men of war at Havre. The passe was drawn according to my memoire, for the king of Gr. Br. service, but the Secretary of State caused it to be new written, and those words left out; w^{ch} among many other things I have observed, makes me think those here very far from declaring for either side in England.

To Lord DIGBY.

25 March 1644.

I have received your L^{ps} letter of 21. Feb. that some supplies of money will speedily be sent to me, & intimating his Mat^{ys} gracious pleasure to conferre upon mee (not lesse unexpected than undeserved) the dignity of Baronett; as y^r Lo^p has happily joyned these two together, soe I humbly beseech they may not be separate butt for mutual support and ornament march hand in hand. To attend y^r Lo^{ps} commands in both I have desired the bearer hereoff Mr. William Prettyman (a younger brother of my wife's) to make a journey to Oxford —— within few dayes I shall have better opportunity to express my thankfulness more at large.

I humbly beseech yo^r LP to represent my most abundant gratitude to his Ma^{ty}.

To Lord JERMYN.

3-13 June 1644.

Y^r LoP hath obtained from his Ma^{ty} a grant of the perpetuity here in France of 2822 livres tournois p^r an'. If yo^r LoP should not already have made sure thereof, I know not how Mr. Aubert's pretensions may interfere with this of yo^r LoP^s; for three days since his Agent here signified his Matys order to mee for payment to him of 25^m livres and returning from him the diamond; which s^ume not being to bee had out of the arreares, it is probable hee will now make a demand of the rents themselves, which if he doe obtain, and that they bee made over to him in that lowe and underhand rate hee expects, he will make up his summe, sweep away not only the rents themselves, but alsoe the remaininge part of the arreares.

Lord DIGBY and Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

3-13 June 1644.

The inclosed arret will lett yo^r LP see that I have at last finished the longe dependinge suite for recovery of a remainder of His Maties portion-money longe since deposited here for the payment of certaine creditors & servants of His Matie. The rents or perpetuity ten yeares since bought with this money, with the arrears of the sayd rents, I have been forced to wrest out of violent hands upon the best terms I could; for to say the truth, they were in a manner swallowed up by some greedy cormorants in too great place and power here, who never thought to have

thus regorged them to their true owner his Maty. Of the tenn yeares arreares of 2822 livres p' an. there are little above seaven at present to bee found in ready money (the rest being nott yet payed), which present money will all be disposed off partly by the arret itselfe, and partly for necessary compositions, charges, and gratuities (as shall appeare by my just and good account), so that to his Maties profit there will come cleare only the perpetuity or rents themselves, and betweene two or three yeares arreares. These rents stand his Maty in twelve yeares purchase, but by reason of the seasures the late French King and this have since these warres made uppon rents of this nature, and of the uncertaine condition of these times, they will not now bee sold at so good a rate as they may improve to after a general peace.

To Lord DIGBY.

7-17 June 1644.

Writes earnestly for money—inevitable ruin must befall him — has not wherewithall to provide himself out of mourning, a new Coat and Liveries, we^{ch} will much tend to his Maties disreputation—“I appeal to all the world whether I have not in this absolutely dearest part of Christendom for these three yeares maintained his Maties honour beyond what could be expected from my quality in these distracted times, my estate lying all in Kent and Essex yielding little or nothing, the moneys I take upp coming uppon much disadvantage, and a constant great interest paid.”

To Lord JERMIN.

Right Hon^{ble} my singular good Lord.

Accordinge to yr Lo^{ps} command to send you the English newes, I now begin by this opportunity of Mr Besse's departure: What London affords this inclosed printed will acquaint yr Lo^p. Besides which the letters containe little or nothings, onely some hopes of misunderstandinge and diuisions amonge the Parliamentary Generalls.

Yesterday the Pr: Elector Pal. his Agent came to acquaint mee that His Elec: High: hee thought was by this time in London: and to declare the cause of his iourney thither to bee, partly to see what aduantages he might reape to himselfe from His Maty and Parl: according to both their promises, in case they treated an accommodac'on; & partly to sollicit some supplies of money for y^e Queene his mother and himselfe, without which they can neyther of them subsist any longer. And this hee desired mee to write to their Maties. And I thinke the same excusatory account will bee brought within fewe dayes to yr Court by Pr. Edward, who was also yesterday with mee to consult where he might most speedily and most conueniently find His Maty.

The Duke of Orleans is on his way hither, and yf what I heare be true, will visit his Maty ere long at Bourbon. Of the Duke d'Anguien's action at Fribourg, I will nott giue an account till the lame Post bee come, and then I shall send it by a speedier conueyance. It shall suffice that by this sure hand I present my humble seruice to yr Lo^p. and giue assurance of my diligent endeauours to obey yr commands. Beseeching yr Lo^p to take some speedy care for the subsistance of a creature of yours whose sole ambition it is to bee vsefull to you: Many haue allready

passed by and pitied his condition; butt yr Lo^p is the Samaritan from whom alone his vrgent necessities expect that balme must cure them. In which happy omen I take the boldnesse to kisse yr Lop^s hands in quality off,

Y^r Lop^s,

Most faithfull humble Sert,

RICHARD BROWNE.

Paris 19. Aug. 1644.

Sr,

After seuerall negotiations betweene the Palais Cardinal and the Court of Parliament, the Queene Regent vpon Tewsday last signified to the Parlam^t that being well informed of their good intenc'ons and sincerity, she approued of their proceedings, willinge them to meet frequently and to continew dilligently their consultations for the publique good; wthall acquaintinge them, that the Ennemy was vpon the ffrontier, and that the King wanted mony, wherefore they might doe well to bring their resolutions to maturity wthin the space of 8 dayes: since w^{ch} satisfactory answer the Parliament is very busy in finding meanes how to reforme the abuses in the gouernment chiefly in that of the Kings reuenues, in which worke the rest of the Parlements of ffrance will doubtlesse comply wth this of Paris. And some great Ministers may perhaps be sacrificed to the people, who have already confessed their feares by dis-furnishinge their houses of their choicest moueables.

Heere is all possible care taken to furnish the Prince of Condé wth mony, and heere is also much seeking after horses to sende to him, wherewith to remount his Caualliers; the Prince is wth his army neere Guize, where he hath lately arrested a gent' of Piccardy (whose name is

Ragny) for hauing giuen intelligence to the Spaniard, and hauing drawne great pensions from them any time this 6 or 7 yeares.

The ffrench ffeet consistinge of 13 shipps and 19 gallies hath presented it selfe vppon the coast of Naples, but as yet wthout any success at all.

This weeke hath safely brought hither Mr. Langton, with all your noble tokens, for all which (particularly for the rare booke to mee) I render you my hearty acknowledgements, as also your two letters of 15. & 19. June, containinge (as allways of late) feares and hopes. God in his mercy direct thinges to some tolerable end or other. I wrote to Mr. Spencer this day seauenight, as to you also; and hope it went safe, though I find some of the former Post (none of mine, for I wrote nott) were intercepted. Our Prince beinge disappointed of the somme of money hee expected from the French for his iourney, goes the beginninge of the next weeke to Callice, butt with lesse traine than hee intended, which is all I can say to you of that matter, onely that all his Mat^{ties} Priuie Councillors in France haue orders to attend his High^{esse} at Callice: my Lord Treasurer, Lord Bristoll, Sir Ed. Nicholas, are on their way thither.

Our best respects to the good company with you in the Country: where I hope you injoy yourselues, and amongst other diuertisments with that of haymakinge, the season for which now approaches; and ought (yf you haue there had soe wett a growinge time as here) to afford you store of exercise. Farewell, D. S.

Yours for euer.

Paris 4. July 1648.

From Sir Ric: Browne.

Sr,

I know not yet what judgment to make, or what the euent will bee of the affaires now in agitation betweene our Royall and our pleadinge Pallace heere. For notwthstandinge that tbe exiled members of the Parliament be restored; that the reuocation of the Intendants out of the Prouinces bee resolved (three onely excepted) namely, in the Lyonnois, in Champaigne, and in Piccardy, where their employment is restraned onely to the affaires of the armies and that y^e Queene hath condescended to y^e erection of a Chamber of Justice, as they terme it, w^{ch} is to consist of a selected number of Parliament men, whereof the Kinge (to saue the reputac'on of his authority) is to haue the nomination, and is established to inquire, and informe against financiers, partisans, and others that haue misbehaued themselves: yet it will be a difficult matter to reconcile other differences, for there is much dispute about the remittinge y^e arrears of the Tailles of y^e yeares 44, 45, and 46, and about abatinge of the 8th part of the Tailles of the yeare 47, and the fourth part of 48 and 49; about the regulating the impositions uppon the entry of merchandises, about the reuokinge those Edicts by which the rents vppon the Towne house and the wages of Officers are diuerted to the Kings vse, and generally whatsoever almost hath passed wthout the verificac'on of the Parliament, is subject to question. Nor is the Counsell altogeather compliant wth the Court of Parliament, hauing lately by their arrest cashiered an arrest of Parliament against the Dutchesse of Aiguillon. Nor is the Parliament vndiuided in ittselfe, the Kinge hauinge a party there amongst whome the Sr Boulanger, Conc^r. in the first

Chamber, two daies since pleadinge very earnestly on the Kings side, in behalf of the Partisans in whose handes he is sayd to haue great sum'es of money, fell downe dead in the House, wherevpon the Duke of Orleans retired, the meeting dissolved, and the people conclude this blow to bee a judgment of God vpon him for defendinge soe bad a cause.

Mars^{ll} de Gramont is come hither, whose privat businesse being not yet knowne, what appears is that he hath addressed himselfe to the Parliament to acquainte them wth the necessities of the army, and to demand supplies of them, seeing all other meanes of raisinge monyes are now, by their stirringe, soe disordered, that the new sur-intendant can neither by intreatyes or threats dispose the partizans to aduance one penny till they see farther what settlement these disputes will produce.

The ffrench ffeet is returned from the coast of Naples (not hauinge made any impression at all vpon that people) to Piombino & Portolongone. Nor doe I heare that Prince Thomas is yet embarqued.

My Lord Jermin went hence towards Callice Munday last. The Queene is returned to St. Germaines. My Lord Marq^s of Ormond prepares for Irland. And my L^d Marq^s of Newcastle goes next weeke towards Holand by the way of Flanders, with his Lady, &c. God blesse you and vs. And send vs a happy meetinge.

Yours euer to loue and serue you.

Paris, 18 July 1648.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

Sr,

The businesse of the Parliament this weeke hath been to deliberate vpon, and examine the declaration w^{ch} the King brought them, hauinge appointed fower of their members to make report thereof vpon the 16th of this moneth; in the mean tyme they make great difficlty to obey that part thereof, wherein the King com'andes them not to assemble any more in the Chambre St. Lewis; and this notwithstanding that the Duke of Orleans hath seuerall tymes bene wth them to maintaine the King's authority, and to vrge the conueniency, yf not the necessity, of their obedience; so that, by what yet appeares, the Parlam^t yf they meete not in the Chambre St. Lewis yet they will doe their businesse in some other place, and perhaps at last make a foule house; for that is certaine, that some other Parlements of ffrance doe manifestly declare and followe their example.

The Prince of Condé findinge great difficultyes in the reliefe of Tourné* is encamped at Bethune, there expecting the succors y^t Erlack, Vaubecour, and others are to bring to him.

At Naples the affaires betweene the King and people (ill satisfied wth the Spaniards non-performance of treaty, and murmoringe by reason of the scarcety of bread) are againe fallen into great disorder; insomuch as it is thought the ffrench ffeet may therevpon make yet an other journey to attempte some new impression in that Kingdome. The newes of the seidge of Cremona is confirmed, not w^{thout} hopes of the speedy takinge thereof.

The Marquis of Ormond is vpon his departure for Ir-

* Which is lost.

land, Wee are here, God be prayed, in good health. Butt when will our deare Brother William come? I am glad to heare our cottage hath beene dignified with such good company as your brother, to whom I longe to present my seruice. Our honest cousin Stefens (who will well deserue your acquaintance, and whom I recommend vnto your affection) will perhaps by that time these come to you, bee arriued. Which yf hee bee, I pray present my seruice to him, and soe with our relatiue cordiall affections, I rest
Yours cuer.

Paris, 8 Augst 1648.

Our Court wants money, and liues very quietly at St. Germain: where no peere appeares but my Lord Jermin. The Lord Marq. of Worster, the Lords Digby & Hatton, though yett in France, yett liue for the most part in Paris.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

Sr,

Since ye Com'ittinge of the King's declaration to fower Members of the Parlament, to bee by them examined wth order to make reporte thereof on Munday next, the Parlament hath followed theire ordinary course of businesse, and this interim seemes to bee a kind of truce betweene the Royall and ye pleading Pallace.

The losse of Tourné hath not yet exasperated ye Prince of Condé into any newe vndertakinge against the Spaniard, w^{ch} now vppon ye joyninge of Erlack's troops vnto him, it is expected hee shoulde, soe that probably wee shall soone heare of his remoue from Bethune. In this stationary, or rather retrograde, condition of the ffrench affaires in fflanders, the certaine expectation of the taking Cremona, and

the weaknesse of the Spaniard in Catalonia, are very considerable supports ; but about all, the relaps of Naples into (as they heere thinke) a more desperate state than euer, doth raise their mindes, and giues here great hopes of the losse of that Kingdome to the Spaniard. In order to w^{ch} the ffrench fleet hath set saile for L'Abruzzo, there to joyne wth the Conte de Conuersano, who hath reuiued y^t rebellion and is at the head of a considerable army.

The Com'andeur de Souray prepares for his journey into Holland, in quality of Ambassador from the Religion of Malta, there to demande restitution of the Com'andaries, w^{ch} the States of Holland doe possesse.

The Duke of Beaufort (who 'tis thought hath not bene out of ffrance) attended wth 40 or 50 horse, hath lately (as is saide) appeared in Brittany, wherevpon there are some troopes sent thither, and into Normandy, to secure those Provinces. And to Card^{ll} Mazarin they speake of giuinge a guard of 100 horse, for the safety of his person.

The Marquiss of Ormond two daies since begane his journey towards Ireland.

Thanks for yours of 28 & 31. most wellcome. All your relations here salute you most cordially. To my brother yf nott com away, & to my cousin St. yf arriued, present my loue and seruice, the like to all the good company with you. Farwell, my deare S.

Yours for euer louinge.

Paris. 15 Aug. 1648.

From Sir Ri: Browne.

Sr,

Yf thorough the difficult and hazardous passage, these lines come safe to you, they will conuey my serious and

hearty congratulations of that condition you are now in neere his Maty, wherein his gracious fauour and your owne merit haue concurrently placed you. Though I haue receiued noe letter from you since your arrivall in Schotland, yett I injoy the fruits of your care and kindnesse towards mee, witnesse the two warrants of his Matie, dated ye 4 Aprill 3^o Car. 1651, directed to Prince Rupert and to Mr. Windam in my behalfe, for which, as I render all humble acknowledgements to my most Gracious and Royall Maister, soe, I giue you also my hearty thanks for beinge soe happily instrumentall in a concernment of mine, though hithertoo neyther of them haue prouued any way aduantageous unto mee, for I can giue noe account where Pr. Rupert is since his comminge into the Ocean, and takinge some rich shippes belonginge to the Kinge of Spaine, and to the Genoese: And when I addresse any demands to Mr. Windham, hee makes mee noe returne butt these kind of warrants, such as the inclosed, of which he hath many. Soe that unlesse his Maty be pleased eyther to thinke of some other way of supply for mee, or direct some more effectuall commands to Mr. Windam, your kinsman and his family must (for ought I see) begge bread (or starue) in the streetes of Paris. In March last Mr. Windam assigned mee a thousand guilders of Dunkirke money, which makes little aboue fourescore pistolls here. Butt the man (one John Arden) in whose hands he had deposited the prize goods, out of which this summ was to bee rayseed, is soe insoluent that he lyes in prison eyther nott able or not willinge to giue any satisfaction. The truth of this will bee confirmed to you by word of mouth by Mr. Edgman, of whose safe arriuall with you, and returne into these parts, I should be gladd to heare.

The affaires of this kingdome are in a dubious condition, occasioned chiefly by reason of some jealousies betweene the Queene Regent and the Princes; to which the neere approachinge majority (the 6th. 7^r.) will, in probability giue a period, one way or other, by a more firme settlement of the authority, ministry, and direction of affaires. As for the aspect towards vs, all I can say to you is, it will bee answerable to the successe of his Maties affaires in schottland, vppon which they here looke as the North Pole-starre by which they intend to steere. Our good Queene spends much of her time of late in a new monastery at the end of Queene Mother's Cours (formerly the faire and pleasant house of Mar^l Basompeere at Challiot) of which shee is the titular foundresse; and the sweete Duke of Yorke doth here subsist vppon the allowance of one thousand crownes a month payd him from this state, beinge greatly esteemed by all for his comelnesse and personall dexterity, in his behauiour and exercises.

Amongst all the publike and priuat calamities wherwith it hath pleased God to visit my poore family, wee yett (by His gracious blessinge and mercy) enjoy our healths, and the hopes of a better condition, when eyther our humiliations, or our enemies sinnes shall moue the Divine power to looke more fauourably vppon vs; in order to the obtaininge wheroff I yett make shifte to keep vp a chappell and the English Liturgie in my house, where, by ordinary and extraordinary deuotions wee implore Gods blessinges vppon his Maties person and just cause. To that diuine Omnipotency recommending you (with all our cordiall and kind salutes) I rest, Dear cousin,

Y^r most affectionate kindsman
and faithfull humble seruant,

Paris, 19 Aug. 1651.

R. BR.

I pray present my seruice to all such worthy friends of mine of our owne nation, in whom you find any memory of, or kindnes for, mee. Butt, faile nott to render mee most louinge and most respectfull to my noble friend to me still (for I know nott his new titles) Mr. William Murray.

Postscript. Extract of a letter from Nantes. 15th Aug^t. Prince Rupert is arriued with his prizes in Portugall, 15 leagues from Lisbone, and there hee fitts his shippes with some others that belonge to the Kinge of Portugall, to goe against the Kinge of Spaines gallions. This is written by a good hand from Lisbone.

Wee heere hope the newes of Schottland, and the defeat in Fife, is nott soe bad as the London prints would make vs beleue. I pray God send us some comfortable tidinges, and bless his Mat^y. with victory and successe in all his undertakinges.

ADDENDUM.

P. 300. From this mention of Mr. Morrice's escape, it should seem as if there had been a report that a Royalist of that name, who in fact was put to death in 1649, had made his escape, and had remained in Ireland. A Mr. Morrice had got possession of Pomfret Castle, and had held it some time for the King; it was besieged and taken by Lambert; this gentleman had made his escape before the surrender, but was afterwards seized and was executed at Lancaster, as Whitelocke tells us. His story, as given by Lord Clarendon, is curious, and being short, may be worth repeating in this place:

A young man, in the beginning of the war, had been an officer in the King's army, but engaged in the Parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable. By his courage and pleasant humour, he made himself very acceptable, and obtained a commission as Colonel; but being a free speaker, and living licentiously, he was left out in new modelling the army, but not without compliments. He had a competent estate in Yorkshire, to which he went, and resided there. As he grew older, he repented of having left the King's service, and meant to take an opportunity of returning to it. His humour was so chearful and pleasant, and he mixed so much with men of all parties, that he had great weight with all of them. The Governor of Pomfret Castle was his most intimate and particular friend, and was so fond of him that he was never

easy without him; he was continually at the Castle, and the same bed served him. He now concerted with the King's party to surprize the Castle, and he so artfully managed with the Governor, telling him that there was such a design, that he mixed with those concerned, in order to communicate every thing to the Governor, that he completely lulled that gentleman to sleep, and made him inattentive to notices which he received from other quarters. He also ingratiated himself with many of the soldiers, and at length effected his purpose. Cromwell was then gone for Scotland, so that they had time to repair the fortifications, and collect a good garrison. Cromwell ordered Rainsborough to go with a few troops to keep them in check; and whilst he lay at Doncaster, 10 miles from Pomfret, they sent 20 picked men, who by the most dextrous management actually surprized Rainsborough in his bed, and mounted him on a horse; but when he found how few there were who had surprized him, he called to his soldiers, and then the captors finding they could not carry him off, actually killed him, and then all made their way back to the Castle.

At length Lambert was sent to besiege the Castle; the garrison made a most gallant defence, but finding no hopes of relief, they at length offered to surrender, if they might have honourable conditions. Lambert said, they were gallant men, and he would do all he could to preserve them; but Col. Morrice and five more of those who had destroyed Rainsborough, must be given up, and he could not save their lives. The garrison said they never would deliver up any of their companions, and desired six days, that these six might deliver themselves as well as they could, the rest being at liberty to assist them. Lambert generously consented. The garrison made several sallies to effect the desired escape, in one of which Morrice and another escaped; in another sally two more got away; and when the six days were expired, and the other two remained in the castle, their friends concealed them so effectually, with a stock of provisions for a month, that rendering the castle, and

assuring Lambert that the six were all gone, and he was unable to find them after the most diligent search, and had dismantled the castle, they at length got off also.

April 1649. Col. Morris, late Governor of Pomfret Castle, and one Cornet Blackburn, who had a hand in the death of Col. Rainsborough, and who were excepted persons on the surrender of the Castle, were taken at Lancaster in disguise.*

Aug. 1649. They were arraigned at York before Baron Thorp and Judge Puleston, for levying war against the kingdom. They made a stout defence on points of law, all of which were over-ruled, were found guilty, and Morrice being manacled with irons, complained of a soldier being so treated, but got no relief.†

Before the end of the month Morrice was executed.‡ It is not said whether Blackburn suffered.

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 382.

† Id. p. 405.

‡ Id. p. 407.



I N D E X

TO THE

FIFTH VOLUME.

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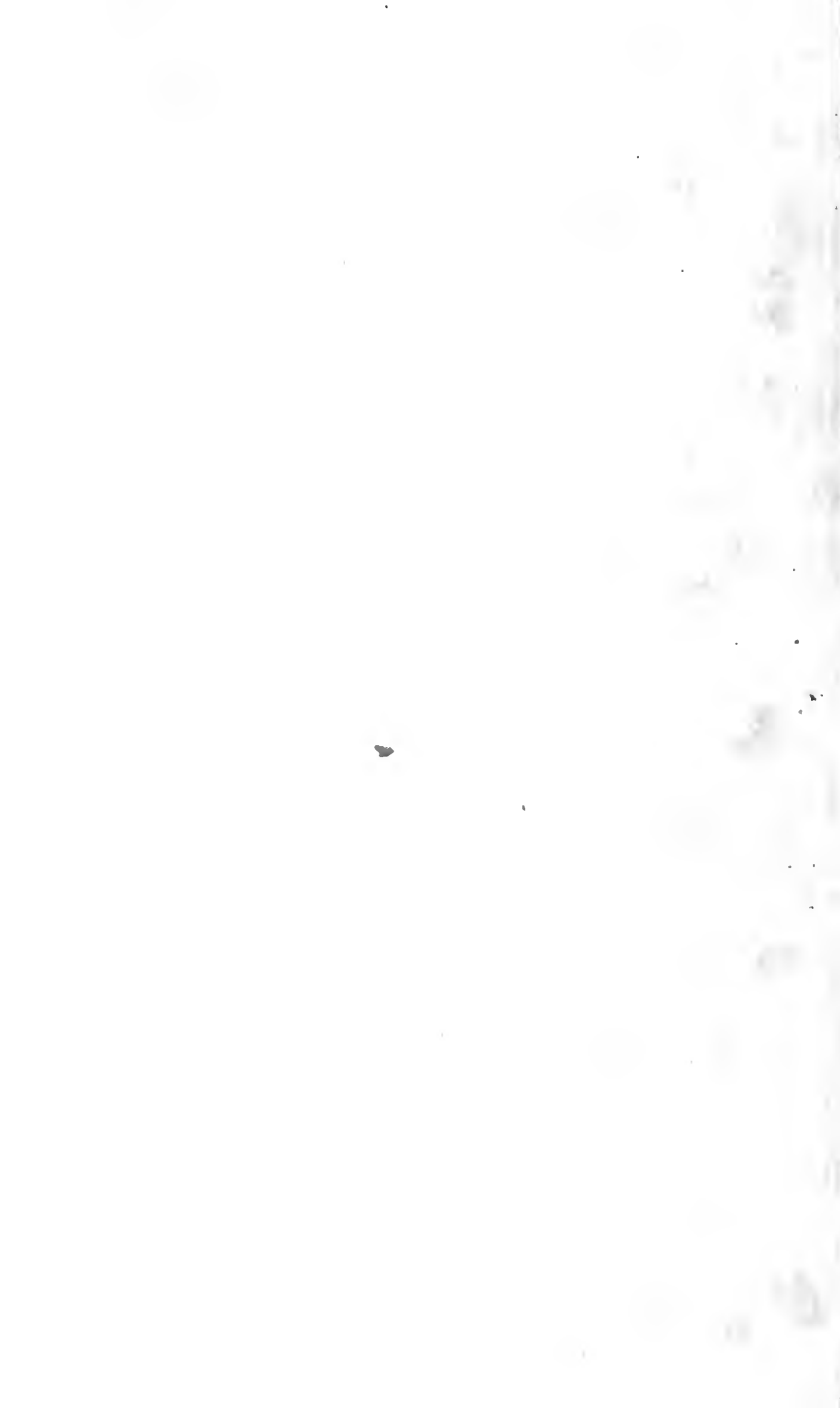
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